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A STUDY OF THE NONPROFESSIONAL IN THE CAP.

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THE AIMS OF THIS EVALUATION OF THE USE OF NONPROFESSIONALS IN COMMUNITY ACTION PROGRAMS WHICH WAS PREPARED FOR THE OFFICE OF ECONOMIC OPPORTUNITY ARE--(1) TO PROVIDE A DETAILED DESCRIPTION OF THE ADMINISTRATION OF THE PROGRAMS, (2) TO ASSESS THE VALIDITY OF THE BASIC PREMISES OF A NONPROFESSIONAL PROGRAM, AND (3) TO IDENTIFY THE SUCCESSFUL AND UNSUCCESSFUL METHODS OF OVERCOMING THE OBSTACLES INTERFERING WITH THE PROGRAM'S ACHIEVEMENT. THIS STUDY IS BASED ON DATA FROM NINE CITIES AND CONSISTS OF INFORMATION ABOUT THE FOLLOWING ASPECTS OF THEIR NONPROFESSIONAL PROGRAMS--(1) SIZE, (2) CHARACTERISTICS AND ROLE OF THE NONPROFESSIONAL, (3) RECRUITMENT, SELECTION, TRAINING, AND SUPERVISION PROCEDURES, AND (4) WAYS TO EVALUATE AND UPGRADE THE NONPROFESSIONAL AND TO DEAL WITH HIS UNSATISFACTORY PERFORMANCE. THE BULK OF THE REPORT IS DIVIDED INTO PART I, A POLICY REPORT, AND PART II, A RESEARCH REPORT. PART I CONTAINS AN OVERVIEW OF CONCLUSIONS AND RECOMMENDATIONS FOR OPERATIONAL ASPECTS OF THE PROGRAM. PART II INCLUDES A SUMMARY OF THE DATA FROM THE NINE INDIVIDUAL CITY REPORTS AND DISCUSSES THE BACKGROUND, HIRING, AND EMPLOYMENT OF THE NONPROFESSIONAL. (NH)

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INTRODUCTION

Purpose

The major purpose of this study is stated in our research proposal as follows:

> "The study is aimed at getting a fully detailed factual description of the administrative side of the nonprofessional program--how the nonprofessional job candidate is identified, recruited, screened, trained, supervised, used, and provisions being made to ensure continuity of job and upgrading of opportunity."

A second purpose is to make an assessment of the validity of the basic premises underlying the nonprofessional program and to identify which of the many obstacles to its success are being overcome and which obstacles are holding the program back.

Finally--and this goes beyond the immediate scope of the project--we were invited to draw any conclusions and recommendations suggested by the findings for the future of the program. Since such interpretations necessarily go beyond the data, we have been careful in meeting this objective to separate fact from interpretation. Also we have made explicit the point of view of the interpretations. As a firm of business researchers and consultants, our point of view probably differs in many respects from the point of view of other categories of professionals concerned with this program. Separating fact from interpretation will permit people sensitized to different issues to draw additional--and perhaps somewhat different--conclusions from the same data.

It should also be noted that this study cannot, in spite of its broad scope, be considered a definitive source of answers to all questions about the much-debated role of the nonprofessional in alleviating poverty. There are several basic limitations to the study which cause us to stress this caveat. These limitations are:

1. The study was designed as a first and partial step in a continuing program of evaluation.

2. There is no measure at all of the effect of the nonprofessionals' work on their "clients"--the adults and children whom they are helping to serve.

3. The nonprofessional programs in the CAP's are typically characterized by a rapid rate of change.

This qualification is not meant to suggest any lack of conviction about the findings or our conclusions and recommendations. Rather it is included to alert readers to possible differences in cities and programs not covered as well as changes in some of the programs that were covered.

Scope and Method

The nonprofessionals in the Community Action Programs of nine major cities were the focus of this study. The nine cities are: New Haven, Atlanta, Detroit, Pittsburgh, Syracuse, Los Angeles, Washington, Chicago and St. Louis. In addition, Newark, New Jersey was studied first in a pretest to develop the methodology.

In our planning discussions with O.E.O., it was agreed that it would not be possible to cover every CAP in each of the cities. Therefore, with the aid of the O.E.O. Washington staff, guidelines were set up to decide which programs to cover in each city.

These guidelines may be summarized as follows:

1. Preference was given to the programs employing the largest numbers of nonprofessionals.

2. Preference was given to programs operated directly by CAA's, rather than by delegate agencies.
3. Preference was given to programs funded by O.E.O., rather than other government agencies, e.g., Department of Labor.
4. Head-Start was not included.
5. Preference was given to programs which presented an unusual aspect of the nonprofessional program, e.g., health aides.

This is not to say that all programs falling outside of these guidelines were excluded. Rather, as many programs as possible were covered in each city. Only when it became necessary to eliminate some programs from the study, were the guideline preferences followed.

The programs included in each city and the reasons for the choice of programs to be studied in each city, are described in detail in the nine individual city reports.

For each of the nine cities studied, the data of the study consist of:

1. Size of the Nonprofessional Program.
2. Characteristics of the Nonprofessional.
3. Role of the Nonprofessional.
4. Recruiting Nonprofessionals.
5. Selecting Nonprofessionals.
6. Training Nonprofessionals.
7. Supervising Nonprofessionals.
8. Evaluating Nonprofessionals.
9. Upgrading Nonprofessionals.
10. Dealing With Unsatisfactory Nonprofessional Performance.

In accordance with terms of the contract, we have submitted a separate report on each of the nine cities studied as well as a pretest report on Newark. The purpose of this present report is to present an overview: a description of the general characteristics of the program compositely and an identification of common patterns or significant variations among the various programs. Readers interested in the detailed description of individual CAP's are referred to the nine city reports.

Organization of the Report

In preparing this report we have followed our customary format of dividing the material into two major sections--a Policy Report and a Research Report.

The Policy Report contains:

1. An overview of conclusions and recommendations, including a factual profile of who the nonprofessionals in the program are.

2. A summary of recommendations about the operational aspects of the program--organizational structure, recruitment, training, upgrading, supervision, evaluation, etc., and recommendations for O.E.O. guidelines to strengthen these procedures.

3. An assessment of the program's premises in the light of the study findings.

4. Recommendations for future directions.

The Research Report contains the detailed findings from the nine CAP's considered compositely, in the following order:

1. Summary of Data Presented in Nine Individual City Reports
    a. Research Sample
    b. Size of Programs
    c. Characteristics of the Nonprofessionals Including Characteristics of the Nonprofessional Sample

2. Background of the Nonprofessionals
    a. Employment Status of the Nonprofessionals at the Time of Application for Work in Community Action Programs
    b. Prior Experience in Related Areas

3. Hiring the Nonprofessional Worker
    a. Recruitment of Nonprofessionals for CAP's
    b. Selection of Nonprofessionals for CAP's
    c. Analysis by Program Administrators of Recruitment and Selection of Nonprofessionals for CAP's

d. Nonprofessionals' Perception of Why They Accepted a Job With a Community Action Program

e. Nonprofessionals' Perception of the Job at the Time of Employment

f. Discussion of Future Opportunities for Nonprofessionals at Time of Employment

g. Effect of Employment in Community Action Programs on Career Plans of Persons New in the Labor Market

h. Community Residents Turned Down for Employment With Community Action Programs

4. Employment of Nonprofessionals in Community Action Programs

a. Training

b. Role of the Nonprofessional

c. Supervising and Evaluating Nonprofessionals

d. Salary of Nonprofessional Respondents

e. Opportunities for Advancement

f. Dealing With Unsatisfactory Performance of Nonprofessionals

g. Professional Evaluation of Use of Nonprofessionals in Community Action Programs

PART I

POLICY REPORT

Section 1 - An Overview of Conclusions and Recommendations

A. Profile of Nonprofessionals in the Program

Part II of this report and the nine city reports submitted earlier presents in detail the factual findings of this study. For convenience, in reading the Policy Report which follows, we have included below a brief factual profile of the nonprofessionals.

1. Approximately 5,000 nonprofessionals were employed in the nine major cities, in programs administered and/or coordinated by the CAA at the time the study was conducted. This includes part-time as well as full-time employees, but does not include such temporary programs as Medicare Alert.

   The specific numbers reported for each city are:

Detroit	1,150
Los Angeles	965
Chicago	935
St. Louis	470
Pittsburgh	415
Washington	300
Atlanta	290
New Haven	250
Syracuse	95

2. Of those hired in the programs: 13 per cent were fired or resigned.

    a. The lowest levels of turnover:

        New Haven - less than 1%
        Detroit - 5%
        St. Louis - 7%

    b. The highest levels of turnover:

        Los Angeles - 22%
        Pittsburgh - 20%

3. Most of the nonprofessionals are full time (76%), the balance, part time (24%). Detroit and St. Louis have significantly higher than average part-time proportions (40% and 48% respectively).

4. The majority are female (71%). But the proportion of men is higher in New Haven (56%) and Washington (41%). On the other hand, Atlanta has only 7 per cent men and St. Louis only 16 per cent men.

5. Age distribution in relation to the employed population:

	CAP's
	%
Under 30 years	30
30 - 39 years	31
40 - 49 years	21
50 years and over	12
Not available	6

Pittsburgh and Washington employ a larger proportion of nonprofessionals under 30 years of age (51% and 46% respectively).

6. Race:*

	Nonprofessionals
	%
Negro	79
White	20
Other	1

* Estimate based on sample.

New Haven employs the largest proportion of whites (41%), and Atlanta the smallest (5%).

7. Most nonprofessionals are not "hard core." Only 25 per cent have had less than a complete high school education, and 20 per cent have had some college or are college graduates.

8. Almost two thirds (62%) were unemployed or underemployed and actively seeking a job at the time of the study. A large number (23%) were employed and not actually looking for a job (typically carpenters, electricians, cooks).

   Almost 1 out of 2 of the unemployed group had been out of work for over a year. But many of these were women who had not actively sought work or had severe restrictions on the jobs they can take.

   Fewer than 1 out of 10 of those actively seeking a job had specific skills or other job targets in mind.

9. More than half (54%) had no prior experience in this king of work in voluntary or client-like organizations (camps, recreational facilities, social work programs, etc.). Those who did have related experience were typically in volunteer or PTA activities.

10. Most (75%) contribute to the support of at least one other person, and 31 per cent contribute to the support of 4, 5, 6 people or more. The average number being supported is 2.5.

11. Seventy-two per cent of the nonprofessionals walk or travel fifteen minutes or less to get to work. Only 6 per cent have to travel more than 30 minutes. Thus, most of them are indigenous to the neighborhood.

12. The largest number of nonprofessionals (39%) receive salaries between $4,000 and $5,000. The second largest pay bracket (over 1/3) is below $4,000. A relatively small number (primarily in New Haven) receive more than $5,000.

13. The major job category is that of community aide (55%), usually defined as "recruitment and referral," followed by teacher aide (32%) and employment aide (5%). The balance are divided among other jobs such as cultural aide, home aide, etc. There is considerable overlapping in all job categories.

B. Summary of Conclusions and Recommendations

The Policy Report will expand on the conclusions and recommendations briefly summarized below.

The Program's Strengths

Our overall conclusion is that the program is now operationally viable: a large number of previously unemployed or underemployed poor people without background or training for the kind of work they are now doing have been routinely hired, have received some training, and are working hard and enthusiastically on their jobs. After some months of experience, supervising professionals and agency personnel in the CAA's feel that the nonprofessionals are filling an indispensable role rather well. The more than 300 nonprofessionals interviewed show very high morale despite job insecurity, limited opportunity for advancement and, for those who are exclusive supporters of families, a marginal salary. The work they are doing is more than "just a job" for most of them. In our experience in industry, a worker's attitude that his is more than "just a job" has proven to be one of the single most important indicators of a successful working operation. Without such an attitude, even the most efficient procedures bog down and produce inefficiency; with it, even loose and chaotic procedures can be made productive.

In our judgment, this fact explains why the nonprofessional programs in the CAA's are operating so well despite some major weak spots in the areas of training, supervision, and evaluation. However, methods must quickly be found for overcoming these deficiencies since they will become increasingly serious if not attended to; but the new methods and systems must be careful not to threaten the "more-than-just-a-job" asset of the program. Also, some of the present drawbacks, such as job insecurity, will have to be mitigated quickly in order to sustain the high morale and apparent effectiveness of the nonprofessionals.

Several other program strengths are worth highlighting.

Community Leader Versus Hard Core - The majority of nonprofessionals are not hard core (e.g., three quarters of them are high school graduates). However, Washington, D.C. and to a lesser extent, Pittsburgh, have made deliberate--and successful--efforts to attract hard core personnel into the program. When the performance of nonprofessionals in Washington, for example, is compared to the performance of nonprofessionals in other cities, we find no significant difference. The Washington programs had no greater difficulty with their nonprofessionals than programs such as New Haven's which had deliberately selected the community-leader type of nonprofessional. On the most mundane level, both extremes--the hard cores in Washington and the community leaders in New Haven--showed the same reliability in terms of reporting for work, doing their jobs and staying with it. Furthermore, there appeared to be no differences in morale, in responsiveness to the jobs and in the enthusiasm with which the jobs were carried out. It is true that in New Haven a more deliberate effort was made than in Washington to upgrade the nonprofessionals and give them more responsibility. But it is well worth noting that when one looks at the nine cities compositely, the indications are that deliberate efforts to "cream off" the best possible candidates among the poor may not be required, especially if this works against other objectives of the program.

A Low Level of Friction - Based on the observations and reports of some professionals and observers outside the programs, we had anticipated a great deal more friction between nonprofessionals and professionals than we actually found. Our conclusion, after studying all nine CAA's, is that considerable resistance exists among professionals but overt friction within these programs is confined to a small minority of nonprofessionals and professionals. There are some nonprofessionals who feel that they can do a better job than the professionals and who resent the discrepancy in salary; and there are some professionals who show considerable impatience with the nonprofessionals. But these tend to be minority attitudes. The majority of professionals we interviewed who are working in the programs are dedicated to trying to make the nonprofessional program work out despite some very stubborn obstacles. The overwhelming majority of nonprofessionals feel no resentment of the professionals. They believe that they themselves (the nonprofessionals) are doing a good job--for the first time in their life for some of them. And they conclude, perhaps naively, that therefore everything is going to work out alright for them. Their confidence may prove to be unfounded, but the belief that they are performing well serves to put friction, abrasiveness and dissatisfaction with the professionals in a subordinate position.

While in response to direct questions, virtually all professionals expressed satisfaction with the nonprofessional program, further inquiry revealed that their satisfaction is related to a low level of expectation. The fact that the nonprofessionals come to work, keep busy, express enthusiasm and seem to be able to communicate well with their clients are the criteria professionals use to gauge success. The fact, however, that professionals tend to resent demands on their time for training nonprofessionals, that they tend to scant training and supervision, that they hold back on giving important responsibilities to nonprofessionals and that they do not really have a peer relationship to them--these are clear indications of resistance as well as acceptance. But it is important to understand that the resistance manifests itself in a context of what appears to be a generally good working relationship: the professionals in administrative positions are dedicated to making the nonprofessional program work (each according to his own interpretation) and most nonprofessionals have faith in the administrators (e.g., neighborhood center directors) and believe these men and women are sincere and able leaders.

More overt friction can be expected if and when nonprofessionals take on an important part of the professionals' own work (e.g., when teacher aides teach in addition to preparing lunch and picking up papers) and when nonprofessionals begin to work with agencies, teachers, physicians not committed to CAP objectives. There was some evidence that professionals not directly involved in CAP's are far more skeptical and resistant: in contrast to the professionals within CAP's, some expressed downright rejection of the nonprofessional concept.

Differences in Psychological Impact - The findings suggest that the community aide type of job stimulates the individual to mobilize his own resources and initiative to a greater extent than being a recipient of services such as housing, welfare and health. The opportunity to help others as well as oneself taps into some powerful motivations; the feeling that one is doing a good job by helping others undercuts the defenses of resentment, passive resistance and cynicism that are very much in evidence in response to other kinds of service programs. Perhaps this is why hard-core personnel employed in CAP's seem to be as responsive to the nonprofessional program as self-selected individuals who have a previous history of participation in community affairs.

Some Major Obstacles

On the negative side, there is great danger that the program may become a "female only" program in most cities. The findings indicate that in most cities men would not be difficult to recruit, but it requires a special effort to attract them. Furthermore, the salary levels for men who tend to be the sole source of support in their families, creates considerable conflict in the men who are presently engaged in the program. They like the work; they see job satisfaction as a major compensation for the low salaries; but they are having such difficulty making ends meet that many of them feel they will have to find less satisfying jobs that pay a little better.

Most of the men try to resolve this conflict by looking forward to being upgraded within the job. They feel that they are being paid fairly for the kind of work they are doing, but since they need more money, they hope this will come about from being promoted within the job after they have had more training and experience. This gives some urgency to the whole matter of upgrading--of which there is very little.

Other obstacles that the program is encountering are: insufficient training and inadequate supervision; the potentially destructive effects of job insecurity; a tendency on the part of program directors to fire virtually no one irrespective of performance; difficulties in trying to achieve multiple--and somewhat incompatible--objectives simultaneously; a lack of clarity about where the program is going; ambiguities in the role relationships of nonprofessionals to professionals, and the rigidity and inflexibility of nonprofessionals in some situations.

None of the obstacles seems inherent to the program--except possibly the role relationships of professionals to nonprofessionals (to the extent that the professional role may require restructuring). They are the sorts of difficulties encountered in many new ventures. The program will require considerable debugging but there appears to be a good incentive to consolidate the program's gains and to move it forward: the research revealed the kind of motivation, esprit de corps and dedication that make programs work well.

Recommendations

With respect to the program's operational characteristics, our major recommendation proposes a more concrete and specific division of effort between professionals and nonprofessionals with respect to training and supervising nonprofessionals. Many important aspects of training, supervision and evaluation essential to the success of the program are not now being done effectively. The reason relates to the size of the gap between the raw nonprofessional and the busy professional. Professionals in the program do not have the time (nor frequently the inclination) to give the kind of detailed training and supervision nonprofessionals require to be optimally effective. We recommend that the gap be filled by building a structure of upgraded nonprofessionals intermediate between the untrained nonprofessional and the professional. These recommendations do not bear on the problem of whether the professionals' own functions must be redefined in order to make the nonprofessional concept work. We are concerned here with a prior step--the training, supervision and upgrading of the nonprofessional so that he can properly execute his job however this may be defined in relation to professional's own work load. In the section on operations, we specify which aspects of recruiting, training, and supervision are capable of being formalized and routinized so that they can be carried out by the more promising nonprofessionals.

Filling the present gap with upgraded nonprofessionals should have a number of positive effects:

a. It should improve the performance of all nonprofessionals;

b. It should relieve the professionals of a burden they do not want and are not now effectively executing;

c. It should provide a much needed method for upgrading nonprofessionals;

d. It should provide more objective methods of screening and evaluation; and

e. It should produce a corp of well-trained, highly motivated nonprofessionals who can ultimately become the backbone of the program.

Administrative Models - Two other major recommendations are made on the operational side. Analysis of the CAA's in the nine cities shows that there are four different models of structuring the administrative relationships of the nonprofessionals to federal programs, city governments and private agencies. We discuss each of these and recommend a variant of one of them as the model which holds the most promise for the future of the program.

We also suggest some guidelines that would consolidate existing programs in the near future. This involves modifying recruitment procedures and concentrating on fewer nonprofessional job categories, rather than a further proliferation of nonprofessional jobs, at least within the CAA's. These recommendations emphasize concentration on consolidating gains to date, rather than on expansion. This is purely an administrative not a political recommendation; it is based on the assumption that there will be no large scale expansion of nonprofessionals in the CAA's in the immediate future. As we understand it, specific nonprofessional programs in relation to education and health are being expanded but not the category of general community worker--the major object of our concern in this study. The consolidation effort will preserve the gains to date and help to institutionalize the community aide position so as to make the program less susceptible to political vicissitudes.

Non-CAP Avenues of Opportunity - With respect to future planning, our major recommendation proposes that the O.E.O. might consider giving as much attention and priority to methods for absorbing nonprofessionals into industry, into the professions, and into local and private agencies as into the CAA's. We are fearful that this extremely promising program may be crippled unless this in done. At the present time, a large part of the nonprofessional program is being carried by high levels of motivation and enthusiasm which can be expected to diminish sharply unless job insecurity, blocked mobility and more stable institutionalization of the job concepts are provided. This recommendation does not detract from the importance of institutionalizing the "community aide" position in the CAA's. It does emphasize the importance of having other alternatives as well for the dual purpose of (a) helping to insure as many avenues of opportunity as possible and (b) for maximizing the number of people who can participate in the programs in the future.

In proposing specific methods for doing this, we have taken as our model the absorption of nonprofessionals into industry, since we are most familiar with this area. We believe that new jobs can be created in industry for trained nonprofessionals, and that industry may be easier in some ways to break into than some of the professions and agencies. Undoubtedly, each of the three avenues--industry, the professions, and the agencies--will require its own specialized program.

As part of the implementation, we also suggest a new kind of "educational package." The formal educational structure of high schools and colleges are not ideally equipped to provide the kind of training and accreditation required by educationally deprived adults at this stage of their life. Furthermore some recent developments in educational devices and programs offer even greater promise of being adapted to the needs of this group than to the traditional school systems. We suggest, therefore, generalizing a modified form of the present Newark educational program: a combination of:

1. On-the-job and off-premise education as part of the nonprofessional's training;
2. The heavy use of new educational technology; and
3. Administration by existing educational institutions whose approach, however, radically modifies the curricula and formal requirements of the standard educational system.

Finally, we define the most promising areas for future research:

1. Studying how the poor themselves are affected by the nonprofessional service they receive;
2. Investigating in greater detail the performance differences of hard core, community leader and average types of nonprofessionals;
3. Evolving and pretesting training materials;
4. Conducting longitudinal cost/effectiveness studies on the comparative benefits of high cost training programs versus lower cost job-creation programs;
5. Testing a variety of methods for absorbing nonprofessionals into industry, agency, and professional channels;
6. Empirically deriving educational curricula materials, methods and formats that meet the needs and capabilities of this particular population; and
7. Studying further the differential psychological and practical effects of programs such as this which mobilize the person's own resources versus programs

which provide service to people who passively receive it without making demands on their own initiative. (The distinction between programs which are poverty cycle-breakers and programs which make the poor more comfortable may become a crucially important one. Both may be needed, but it would be a boon to planners to be able to tell them apart.)

* * * * *

The sections that follow detail these conclusions and recommendations. The Research Report (Part II) plus the nine individual city reports already submitted to O.E.O. provide the detailed findings on which this Policy Report is based.

Section 2 - Recommendations on Operational Aspects of the Program

This section presents conclusions and recommendations on the operational aspects of the program. It should be emphasized once again that the study attempted to cover, in a preliminary way, a number of vast subjects each of which is worthy of separate investigation. Thus in this section, nine major operational areas are reviewed. The material in this section must be read, therefore, keeping in mind that the findings, conclusions and recommendations represent our state of knowledge about many broad aspects of this program at a point in time and that they are far from the last word on any of these subjects. It is worth repeating the point made in the introduction that these conclusions, recommendations and interpretations are presented independently of the specific findings of the research report in order to give the reader who has other sources of knowledge, separate data from which to form his own judgments, should they be either at variance with--or similar to--the interpretations presented here.

1. Organization of the Nonprofessional Programs Within the Cities

The Prevailing Situation

Four major types of organizational structure are found to have been developed to relate the Federal Program (CAA), city government and agencies, and private agencies.

The four types are:

1. The New Haven model, where a nonprofit corporation receives the federal money, disbursing it through some programs of its own and some programs run by private agencies. The top executive is chosen by the O.E.O. but is in all cases subject (informally, at least) to veto by the local city administration. Among the cities studied, the New Haven model has been adopted with insignificant modifications by Atlanta, Newark, Chicago, Syracuse, St. Louis, and Washington.

2. The Detroit approach. This has one major distinguishing characteristic: TAP's recruiting and selection is done through the municipal Civil Service so that nonprofessionals become Civil Service employees. The CAA

is thus very much like a regular city department, except for the fact that its funds come primarily from the Federal Government (with appropriate control and review), and that some programs have been subcontracted to private agencies.

3. The Pittsburgh approach. Here the CAA has delegated all programs and administration of the nonprofessionals to the private agencies. This is the extreme model for nongovernmental operation.

4. The Los Angeles approach, in which a separate program and organization has been set up (NAPP) to recruit and select nonprofessionals who are then farmed out to private agencies. They continue to be paid by CAA but the goal is to have the agencies assume complete responsibility for their nonprofessionals as soon as possible.

A difficulty of these prevailing organizational approaches has been the failure to delineate clearly who--CAA, local government, or private agency--is responsible for the nonprofessionals' training, supervision and evaluation. These aspects of the program have frequently been dissipated through the lack of clear-cut responsibility.

For example, in the New Haven model, a nonprofessional may be recruited through a conversation with someone working in one of the programs. He may be selected by a program unit director (school, health center, neighborhood center). He may be trained according to a plan developed by the CAA but administered (with varying degrees of fidelity to the plan) by the city or private agencies. This mix of responsibility continues through the entire cycle including supervision, evaluation, etc.

Recommendations on Organizational Structure

The experience to date indicates that it may be possible to have a form of organization of the nonprofessional programs which is superior to the existing models. Such organizational form would place the responsibility for these employees in one organization which would, of course, receive assistance and advice with respect to the administration of the nonprofessional program from the other organizations involved in it. Specifically, we recommend that the federal CAA organization be given the responsibility for the administration of the nonprofessional programs in each city, and not farm this out to either the city or private organizations. Rather, it would be the CAA's responsibility to recruit, select, train, supervise, and evaluate nonprofessionals. In some areas they may choose to obtain help from the city or private agency personnel in carrying out these responsibilities, but the responsibility would remain with the CAA. In the material that follows, we have spelled out the way in which each operational aspect of the program would be affected by this recommendation.

It would, of course, be possible (and may very well be desirable for reasons with which we are not familiar) to centralize responsibility for the nonprofessionals in a local city administration or a local private agency rather than the CAA. The important point we would emphasize, however, is the need for the centralization.

2. Recruitment

The Prevailing Situation

In general, recruitment has been carried out primarily through word of mouth on the part of individuals, agencies, and institutions involved in the program, supplemented by the pinpointing of cooperative neighborhood residents who are urged to apply to the program. The word of mouth has spread partly through individuals to their friends, but mostly through institutions such as churches, schools, hospitals, agencies, etc. However, within this general pattern, there are significant differences. Washington, D. C. has opened up its recruiting efforts to such areas as bars and prisons in an attempt to include types of persons who are not obtained in the less diversified recruiting efforts of other cities. Also, Pittsburgh has made more effort to announce the availability of positions throughout the city. In New Haven, on the other hand, most of the workers were known to program executives or professionals, and a deliberate effort was made to hand pick the most experienced and qualified individuals.

This approach to recruiting has speedily filled program needs with little overt criticism or resentment of the methods employed. In our discussions with critics of the program, only in one city, Newark, New Jersey, was there explicit criticism of the recruiting methods. In that instance, it was alleged that too many of the nonprofessionals have been recruited from "up on the hill" and that "they have not come down here into the less attractive areas of the city to get people."

But the results of this word-of-mouth recruiting approach have also revealed important limitations: there are relatively few men in the program and the hard-core poor have not been reached in most cities. The evidence for this conclusion is abundantly shown in the findings with respect to the demographic and employment characteristics of the nonprofessionals. Briefly stated, these statistics indicate that almost 3 out of 4 have had college training, or are high school graduates; and almost 2 out of 3 of those recruited who were employed at the time previously held positions in skilled, professional, or semiprofessional work, and more than two thirds (71%) are women.

Recommendations

As noted earlier, we are assuming that the CAA's nonprofessional programs will necessarily be more limited than at present--at least in the short-term future. Therefore, we believe that the recruiting approach should take this reality into account. We, therefore, do not recommend broad publicity (as in the Washington approach), and a major effort to reach the hard-core poverty population in order to stimulate applications from them in all areas. Such a broad approach would be very productive in producing large numbers of applications from persons who would then have to be rejected.* Rather, we suggest that the present word-of-mouth method be continued, with these important modifications:

1. The nonprofessionals in the program should be given specific responsibility for identifying potential recruits as part of their regular work. This would be particularly suitable for the neighborhood aide workers. By this step, we would have, in addition to the professionals and the administrators who in the past have been responsible for the bulk of the recruits, a new and important source of recruits. We would also have much more open, nondiscriminating recruitment without the difficulties of public recruiting efforts. Although interest in nonprofessional jobs is now generated by the work of nonprofessionals, in most cases this is unplanned. We are recommending that recruiting of nonprofessionals be an explicit task assigned

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* It should be emphasized that the Washington approach to open recruitment was successful in recruiting men in hard-core categories. Furthermore, city-by-city comparisons strongly suggest that these recruits did at least as well as the more handpicked recruits in other cities. The only drawback to this approach is that it is geared to large-scale recruitment and cannot be readily adapted to a program cutback.

to all nonprofessionals, and that they be instructed to identify men in hard-core poverty situations, if these are wanted.

2. One reported obstacle to wider recruitment, particularly the hard core, has been a reported fear on the part of some women that if they volunteered for a nonprofessional program, they would lose their welfare payments. It would appear desirable, therefore, to clarify this and to make it clear that employment in the nonprofessional program is to be preferred to continuance on welfare.

3. Selection

The Prevailing Situation

As described above, the recruiting procedure has been extremely selective. Thus, the selection has generally taken place automatically within the recruitment period. Specifically, the criteria which have governed the selection are indicated in the following verbatim quotations from program executives:

> "We've looked for outgoing, cheerful, not easily discouraged people who know the neighborhoods, and in the schools--who like kids. That's the kind of people we need and can get."
>
> Atlanta Administrator

> "We are looking for people with community knowledge, an interest in community problems, and a desire to work with youngsters."
>
> Chicago Administrator

> "Personality comes first in choosing nonprofessionals. Then a little education. We prefer young people, but will accept anyone who is active physically and mentally."
>
> St. Louis Professional

> "We try to find people who can carry themselves in a manner fitting the position, but will still be 'plain people' and won't lose the ability to 'connect.'"
>
> Washington Professional

The key and determining influence in selection, where more than one person has been available for a position, is clearly the unit director in the CAA programs. In the case of a neighborhood worker, it is the neighborhood's unit director who has the ultimate choice. In the case of Detroit, where the Civil Service regulations do influence selection, it has been the unit directors who have determined who should go and take the exams. In St. Louis, where some programs have called for relatively easy access to an initial training period of several weeks, followed by selection based upon performance in the training program, it has been the unit directors who decided who should go into the training program. It should be stressed that the selection procedures currently employed are not a subject of any particular criticism. Fewer than 1 out of 5 of the nonprofessionals report knowledge of rejections of persons they felt to be qualified for inclusion in the programs. Also, the nonprofessionals report no false or misleading encouragement with respect to the potential opportunities and likely developments in the program.

Recommendations

The present selection procedures would appear to be adequate as long as the numbers are small and the recruitment is highly selective.

One possible source of improvement in the selection procedures might take place through the inclusion of a group interview for the applicants, followed by a screening process in which some of the nonprofessionals themselves participate. This approach is being tried currently in a Chicago youth program, with reportedly helpful results. Also, it has been recommended by Riessman and has been used in the Lincoln Hospital project. It is Riessman's conclusion "that the group interview method provided a much clearer picture of ego functioning and ego capacity than could be obtained through the individual interview method."

While, as noted above, false or misleading encouragement of the nonprofessionals in the selection interviews does not appear to be a problem, there is evidence of a lack of full explanation of the programs' jobs and career possibilities. In part, this is a result of the fact that in some cities (e.g., Atlanta), the number of nonprofessional applicants has overwhelmed the available interviewers. It is also, to some extent, a result of the lack of widespread knowledge about the programs. But the result is that a majority of the nonprofessionals do not have sufficient understanding of the program and their future opportunities to support them when the almost inevitable doubts and anxieties arise in their first weeks of training. Our recommendation for centralization of the administration of nonprofessional programs in CAA's should make it possible to overcome this difficulty since it is more likely that experienced, knowledgeable interviewers will be facing the nonprofessionals in the selection phase.

Finally, we would urge that the time lag between application and selection of nonprofessionals be minimized. This was not a subject of more than occasional complaint in the survey. But the professionals stress the fragility of interest on the part of many of the nonprofessionals in the early stages of their employment. And this type of limitation is likely to be more prevalent when the "hard core" is penetrated to a greater extent.

4. Training

The Prevailing Situation

The review of the training program for nonprofessionals is a subject of more detailed discussion and controversy among persons interviewed than any other aspect of the CAA programs. The major reason for these differences of opinion appears to be that the training program is subject to differing points of view with respect to the type of training needed, the amount of money that should be devoted to training, and the abilities and needs of the nonprofessionals.

On the one hand, approximately 4 out of 5 administrators and nonprofessionals report general satisfaction with the CAA training programs for nonprofessionals. However, this satisfaction is based upon the fact that they are pleased that the training is adequate to allow the nonprofessionals to function. On the other hand, more criticism is directed towards training than to any other aspect of the program. Some verbatim quotations from those involved in the programs illustrate the dissatisfaction:

From Program Executives:

> "We can't get the money or personnel to do it the way it should be done."
>
> "The training has to come out of the overtime of our professionals because we don't have the money to set it up right."
>
> "O.E.O. won't approve a real training program because it won't produce visible results fast. They'd rather spend the dollars on more people being out on the street."

From Nonprofessionals:

> "I don't know when I was being trained and when I was on the job. They said it was on-the-job training, and maybe that's why it's hard to tell."
>
> "The training was a waste of time for me. I'm one of these people. I understand them and they trust me. I don't need to be taught how to deal with them."

From Professionals:

> "You just can't hand them a piece of paper with a job description and call that training. Yet that's what we've done."

> "Most of these people cannot learn from written material. You have to dramatize the material."

These comments illustrate general training problems in all of the cities studied. This is not to say all the training is bad. In all of the cities except Syracuse and Los Angeles, there is a combination of formal training plus on-the-job training. In Syracuse and Los Angeles, the nonprofessionals are reported to be relying only on learning by doing for their training. In Detroit, a detailed, special O.E.O. program of training was about to begin when our work was in progress. Also, there are some excellent training programs which go far beyond the initial training of the nonprofessionals (for example, the Newark Teachers Aid Program, being carried out in conjunction with Fairleigh Dickinson University, and the program of the New Haven Skill Center).

In our judgment, however, when all aspects of the training programs are considered, there appear to be five serious deficiencies in virtually all cities. These are:

1. A lack of total responsibility for the training (parts assigned to CAA, individual agencies, etc.), so that

typically, the responsibility for training is spread among the federal government, local government, and private agency organizations.

2. The initial indoctrination is being handled in many different ways, and typically does not provide the start that the nonprofessionals need to maximize their chances for success.

3. The training programs typically have not been developed beyond an initial period designed to get the nonprofessional started.

4. The limitations in time, numbers, and capability of the professionals to provide training is not adequately taken into account.

5. No training provision is made for upgrading nonprofessionals--an all-important consideration for the future success of the program.

Recommendations

In the light of these serious problems, the following recommendations are made with respect to (1) the organization of training,

(2) the division of training of the nonprofessionals into four formal phases--indoctrination, early field work, on-going training and an education program as part of the training process, (3) training the trainers, and (4) training nonprofessional assistants.

The Organization of Training

One of the most significant advantages of centralizing administrative responsibility for the nonprofessionals in the Federal CAA organization in each city would be to have the training of the nonprofessionals clearly assigned to this administrative organization. Thus, as we see it, there would be in the CAA a director of training in each city. It would be the responsibility of his group to develop the training programs, to monitor their operations, to maintain records of each nonprofessional's training status, to develop materials for use in the training programs, and to be a source for information to regional and national CAA administrators with respect to training developments and needs. A major responsibility for the training director and his group would be to coordinate the various aspects of training which necessarily (as described below) must involve federal, local government, and private agency participation.

The First Phase of Training--The Indoctrination or Preservice Training

It is important to delineate as clearly as possible the various phases of training of nonprofessionals because of their needs for understanding where they are and where they're going, and also because of the new and somewhat undeveloped program for nonprofessionals in CAA's.

The first phase of the training program, then, would be indoctrination or preservice. And we suggest these features:

1. It should be limited in time--approximately two weeks.

2. In most cities, the number of nonprofessionals being hired and ready for training at any given time is small. Therefore, we see a need for a central training location to which the nonprofessionals would be directed from the individual programs (neighborhood centers, schools, etc.). In the larger cities, there are typically sufficient nonprofessionals to justify

a training center in each. For the smaller cities, we envisage a group of these smaller cities feeding a regional training center. The training centers would be under the supervision and direction of the CAA administration in the city or region, and specifically under the director of training described earlier. The two-week, nonprofessional indoctrination courses would be directed by trainers who have been themselves specially trained for this work. (The training program for the trainers is discussed below.) The trainers hopefully would be upgraded nonprofessionals, but in the early phases of this program might necessarily come from the ranks of professionals or CAA administration personnel.

3. The content of the indoctrination program should include:

a. Administrative and organizational procedures--the hours of work, the days of work, the times when one is paid, the filling out of necessary forms for social security, taxes, etc.

b. The relationships between the nonprofessionals and volunteers and professionals in the programs to which they are to be assigned.

c. The initial training for the actual substantive work that the nonprofessionals are to be doing. This should be accomplished via job simulation and role playing. It should also cover such "ground rules" as confidentiality; the handling of sensitive issues such as birth control; dealing with requests from special interests such as religious or political leaders.

4. This indoctrination program should also make important use of a reference manual as a basic tool. The written manual is a key to the success of the indoctrination period. The study findings show that there have been many difficulties with written materials currently being provided to nonprofessionals in their initial training periods. Therefore, we urge that a reference manual be developed as a basic tool for the nonprofessional, be pretested and that all nonprofessionals be trained to use it effectively. One source for this manual will be the program materials gathered in the course of this study and included in an Appendix.

The Second Phase of Training--Initial Field Work

The next phase of the training program would be the initial field work. It should occupy approximately eight to twelve weeks. It should be directed for each nonprofessional by an upgraded nonprofessional whom we are designating as an assistant professional.* The responsibility of the assistant professional would be to work with the nonprofessional assigned to him in the field on his assignments throughout the training period. A special program of training for the assistant professional is described in a section which follows.

Another aspect of this initial field work program should be to allow the nonprofessional to choose the type of work he wants to do in this initial period from among a number of successful initial experiences of present nonprofessionals. This is designed to give the nonprofessional confidence from early success, since it is apparent that many of the nonprofessionals experience difficulty in the early phase which can be overcome if they are allowed to gain a sense of confidence early.

Closely related to the initial field work phase of the nonprofessional's training program would be a provision for individual guidance, to be given by the assistant professional. In this phase of the training, which would be expected to last through the first three months, the assistant professional would answer any questions raised by the nonprofessional, be sensitive to problems which are bedeviling his trainees, provide special insights into agency peculiarities or idiosyncrasies which would be important for the nonprofessional to understand, etc. This aspect of the training program is suggested for the obvious reason that one of the major problems in training to date has been a lack of opportunity for the nonprofessionals to discuss their problems with a peer who is, at the same time, more knowledgeable than himself. The shortcomings and difficulties of reliance upon the professionals for training of the nonprofessionals is most clearly indicated in this problem area.

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* The naming of jobs should receive careful attention. The negative designation "nonprofessional," stating what the individual does not do, while it may be descriptive of the whole category, should not be carried over into the designations of any specific job.

The Third Phase of Training--On-Going Training (Weekly Seminars)

This would be the final phase of the nonprofessional's initial training program. It would extend throughout the first year of his employment. It would be primarily the responsibility of the professionals in the field to which he is assigned. It would use case histories of experiences as the subject matter. It would also use a field kit which made extensive use of films, tapes, and other newly developed teaching devices which can rapidly enhance the substantive knowledge of students in any field. Here, again, we would urge that the field kit be made a project of some priority for the O.E.O. training organization, and that it be pretested before adoption.

Some of the subject matter to be covered in the weekly seminars might include day-to-day problems such as how to deal with the nonresponsive family or child, relationships with civil rights and other organizations outside of the CAP's, etc.

The Fourth Phase of Training--Education and Accreditation

It is also clear from the work in this study that the real potential in the nonprofessional idea will be realized only if methods for absorbing nonprofessionals into industry and into the professions and local and private agencies are developed. This aspect of the training program is described in Section 4.

Training the Trainers

As indicated earlier, there is a need in the recommended training program for a group of trainers, located in the major cities, and in each of the O.E.O. regions to provide this help to the smaller cities on a regional basis. We estimate that approximately 50-100 individuals would be required for this role with present assumptions about the size of the programs in the foreseeable future. Although this study did not include an examination of the capabilities and facilities of the existing O.E.O. administrative groups throughout the country, it is our understanding that there are enough persons in those groups who now have training responsibility in one way or another and who could start the program. It would be our hope that these experienced trainers could immediately start, among other things, to train a group of the most promising nonprofessionals to be trainers too. It is assumed that the experienced O.E.O. trainers would need little, if any, special training for this new assignment but to assure coordination and total program understanding it might be desirable to have a one week conference for these trainers, at which time they could all convene in a group for a review of what the program is designed to achieve. In this connection, it is important to stress a major objective of the training program. This is to see to it that each of the nonprofessionals is clearly noticed and his strengths and weaknesses understood. It has been stressed in the selection procedure outlined earlier that the nonprofessional should be rapidly introduced into the program. This means that their strengths and weaknesses are not likely to be understood in the selection phase. Also, we have stressed in the evaluation and handling of unsatisfactory performance below that the nonprofessional should not be coddled and protected excessively. If they cannot make the grade, they should not be retained in the program. However, these two hard realistic suggestions for the program's administration make all the more important the need for a training phase in which the nonprofessional is given every opportunity to develop and become a satisfactory employee.

The nonprofessionals who are to be upgraded to the level of trainers might most advantageously be given a combination of training: (a) by the O.E.O. trainers referred to above and (b) by a university or industrial training institute. The former could concentrate on the specific needs in the programs (how to time training sessions; the use of the training manual and other materials, etc.). The university or training institute phase could then concentrate on more complex problems such as measurement of understanding by the trainees; how to use the assistant professionals most effectively, etc.

Training the Assistant Professionals

The initial group of assistant professionals would require a separate training course. In subsequent periods, however, the assistant professionals could be trained along with the nonprofessionals in the procedures outlined earlier.

The training program for the assistant professionals would have the following aspects:

1. It would require approximately four weeks.

2. Since the role of the assistant professional, as outlined earlier, is primarily to provide the person-to-person contact and support for the nonprofessional recruits, it is most important that his training be concentrated on making this activity effective.

3. It also would be desirable to include as part of the training program for the assistant professionals at least annual meetings of groups of the assistants on a regional basis. It is clear from this survey that the meetings of administrators of the CAA programs have been extremely helpful to them in sharing experiences, in stimulating new ideas, etc. Such job "fringe benefits" would also help to make the upgrading to assistant professional more meaningful and attractive.

SUMMARY CHART OF PROPOSED TRAINING

Form and Purpose	Who Does the Training	Materials and Methods
PHASE I A two-week formal program of indoctrination.	An upgraded nonprofessional or CAA administrator (the trainer).	1. A reference manual and training in its use. 2. Job simulation and role playing.
PHASE II Six to eight weeks of personal supervision to give the nonprofessional confidence from early success.	An upgraded nonprofessional (assistant professional).	1. A kit of selective activities. 2. Individual guidance.
PHASE III Once weekly throughout the first year to provide guidance from an experienced professional.	The supervisory professional.	1. Weekly "seminars." 2. Training on how to handle unanticipated situations. 3. Use of specially prepared materials.
PHASE IV Long-term--to provide for upgrading within the program, or prepare for jobs outside the program.	An educational institution which can supply accreditation.	See Section IV

5. Supervision

The Prevailing Situation

One of the most frustrating and unsatisfactory aspects of the existing CAP's has been the lack of effective supervision of nonprofessionals. The program administrators are particularly candid about this, pointing out the need for greater supervision, while admitting a lack of time and personnel for this responsibility. In part, the difficulty can be traced to the sharing of responsibility for the nonprofessionals between the CAA, the local government, and the private agencies. In some cities and in some program areas, the professionals have assumed responsibility for supervising the nonprofessionals. For example, in the schools, the teacher easily (or in some cases unavoidably) is able to supervise the nonprofessionals who work in the same area. But typically, these professionals consider this responsibility a source of difficulty. Those who are sympathetic to the nonprofessionals are concerned about their inability to supervise them properly (they are not sure how much to expect from them, how far they can go in directing them, etc.), and those who are unsympathetic resent the time that it takes. Thus, the ill-defined supervision responsibility is probably contributing more to friction between professional and nonprofessional than any other aspect of the program.

Two exceptions to the generally unsatisfactory supervision status are: St. Louis, where the Vista volunteers are being used for day-to-day supervision of nonprofessionals, with reportedly promising results; and Atlanta, where a group of upgraded nonprofessionals is being effectively used to solve these problems.

Recommendations

A big step towards solution of the sore and pressing problems of supervision of the nonprofessionals would, as we see it, be taken through the adoption of our organizational recommendations making the CAA administrative group responsible for the nonprofessionals. Thus, the CAA would have a Director of Nonprofessionals as part of its administrative organization. This director and those who assist him would have the responsibility for the nonprofessionals' supervision throughout the program. In the training phase, as noted earlier, the trainer and assistant professionals who work closely with the nonprofessional would be providing day-to-day supervision. In the later stages, when a nonprofessional was integrated into a school program or health program or as a neighborhood worker, his unit director and the professionals working with him would have day-to-day supervisory control. However, the continuing overall supervision would clearly be a function of the CAA.

6. Evaluation

The Prevailing Situation

The area of evaluation is closely related to supervision and, in the case of the CAA's nonprofessional programs, similarly a source of dissatisfaction and frustration. The most common comment with respect to evaluation from administrators and professionals throughout the program in virtually every city was:

> "We know we should sit down with the nonprofessionals from time to time and review their performance, but we just never get around to it. The only time it happens is when something really goes wrong and they have to be straightened out."

From the nonprofessional's side of the picture comes this typical comment:

> "We were supposed to have a meeting every ____ months or weeks, but somehow we don't have them like we did at the beginning."

Recommendations

With the program of training and supervision described earlier, the CAA's administrative group would have two sources of information upon which to base periodic evaluations. These sources would be the trainer and assistant professional who could provide information on certain phases of the nonprofessional's activity, and the professionals who, via the seminar contact and their day-to-day work with the nonprofessionals, would be able to provide information on their substantive achievements. It is true that the professionals would probably, in some cases, still regard even this responsibility with respect to nonprofessionals as a chore. But the extent of their obligation and the time required would have been reduced to what we believe would be an acceptable level.

Because it is critically important for the nonprofessional to know where he stands and where he is going--particularly in the early stages of this new job--we urge that the evaluations follow this schedule: monthly for the first six months; quarterly in the second six months and semiannually thereafter.

Finally, the evaluations should be as specific as possible to make them most meaningful and useful particularly to those nonprofessionals who are embarked upon new careers. To assure this specificity we recommend that an evaluation record be maintained on each nonprofessional by the CAA's nonprofessional administration and that priority be given to maintenance and review of these files.

7. Salaries

The largest number of nonprofessionals in the program now earn between $4,000 and $5,000 per year. Since almost 3 out of 4 of the nonprofessionals contribute to the support of at least one other person, and since, in most cases, they are the only income producers in the family, the total family incomes of 40 per cent of the nonprofessionals are less than $5,000. These salaries are typically higher than what most of the nonprofessionals earned before entering the program, and therefore they are, particularly in the case of the women, not a source of dissatisfaction. However, it is clear that if more men are to be attracted to the programs, it will be necessary to pay higher salaries. Although it was not possible to obtain detailed information with respect to the level of salaries necessary to attract men, it is our conviction that provisions to upgrade nonprofessionals to a salary between $5,000 and $6,000 would be adequate to increase the numbers of men significantly.

8. Upgrading

The Prevailing Situation

There is general agreement and recognition of the fact that upgrading and advancement are particularly important to the nonprofessionals. However, the progress in this direction has been slight. New Haven has taken the largest step by allowing the nonprofessionals to move ahead into supervisory and "professional" roles, even though they have not achieved the educational and training requirements. The success of the New Haven approach could not be adequately measured at the time of our study because the nonprofessionals had not been in their new positions for a sufficient period. However, questions were already being raised by administrators and professionals as to the ability of the nonprofessionals to carry out their new responsibilities. It was suggested, for example, that "while the nonprofessionals could be expected to solve some of the simpler problems of the families in their neighborhoods or the children in the schools, they could not be expected to solve the more difficult and complex problems without more training." It was also pointed out that the advancement of significant numbers of nonprofessionals into supervisory positions did not avoid or quiet continuing resentment on the part of nonprofessionals about the fact that more whites than Negroes are in supervisory positions, or that outsiders continue to supervise parts of the program. In St. Louis, Detroit, and Atlanta, steps have been taken to provide salary increases which do allow promotion of the nonprofessionals. Also in Atlanta, a new level between the nonprofessional and the professional was being created and funds were being sought to make possible this very meaningful type of upgrading.

Recommendations

The creation of the assistant professional would, of course, be the most meaningful form of upgrading for the nonprofessionals. Also under our recommended program, the "trainer" level would be available to nonprofessionals with particular promise. Finally, and most importantly, in Section 4 of this part of the report, we have outlined a program of continuing education which would lead to the accreditation of the nonprofessional and to job opportunities outside of the existing CAA programs. This would be the most meaningful form of upgrading for a large number of the nonprofessionals.

9. Dealing With Unsatisfactory Performance

The Prevailing Situation

This is one area with the least difference between cities with CAA programs. Briefly stated, there is virtually no dismissal for unsatisfactory performance. Rather, there are many varieties of effort to mitigate and avoid coming to grips with problems of inadequate performance. In New Haven, there is a probationary period for nonprofessionals who do not perform adequately. In Atlanta, there is a leave of absence, etc. Only in Washington, D. C., however, is there a claim that nonprofessionals will actually be dismissed under some conditions.

Recommendations

It is understandable in part that there has been a reluctance to dismiss nonprofessionals to date, since the evaluation procedures have not been comprehensive or adequate. If, however, the organization changes are made with centralization of responsibility for nonprofessionals and the institution of evaluation, which all can agree is fair, then there should be less hesitation to eliminate from the program those persons who cannot or will not meet the criteria for satisfactory performance. It is, of course, recognized that there will continue to be many reasons (pity, politics and expediency) for avoiding dismissal but at least these recommendations will make such avoidance more difficult.

Section 3 - Assumptions and Obstacles

The nonprofessional programs constitute a major social innovation and introduce a variety of new assumptions and premises. A subsidiary objective of this research is to examine the soundness of the programs' assumptions in the light of the study findings (to the extent that the data permits), and to appraise the obstacles that stand in the way of success.

The nonprofessional programs in most of the nine cities studied have become operational only in the past year or so. Some of their strengths, assumed by those who conceived and planned the programs, appear to be even greater than anticipated; some obstacles have proven to be less serious than anticipated. On the other hand, some obstacles that were not as fully anticipated emerge as major threats. Also, a certain amount of confusion has been engendered by some ambiguities in the nonprofessional concept. The nonprofessional programs in operation reflect several different concepts. These have not always been kept separate and have, to some degree, become mixed up with one another. Thus, it should be useful to the program planners to see how the evidence of the study supports, or fails to support, or modifies the basic premises of the program. Most of its supporters take its essential soundness for granted; they are more concerned with detailed implementation than with a reappraisal of the basic ideas behind the program. The material that follows may, therefore, merely confirm what many planners already know. On the other hand, it may contain some surprises; it will certainly contain new facts as far as public information is concerned.

In our original Research Proposal we listed a number of the program's basic assumptions and likely obstacles. In the pages that follow, we repeat these on the left hand side of each page. On the right hand side we cite relevant data from the study that either support or modify each of the programs' premises. We have added to the list some new assumptions and obstacles that the study shows to be important. In most instances, the evidence is not conclusive and is based on our own interpretation of the quantitative as well as the qualitative aspects of the data.

A. Assumptions

ASSUMPTION	EVIDENCE OF THE STUDY
1. "We should give the jobs available in the Poverty Program to the poor who need them rather than to people who don't need them."*	The assumption is largely valid. Available jobs have mostly gone to people who were unemployed or underemployed and actively looking for jobs (62%). Only one quarter (23%) of available jobs in the programs were given to people who were working and not looking for jobs.
2. "The use of the poor in new semiprofessional roles (community worker, neighborhood worker, expeditor) creates a new leadership group."*	Interpretation of the study findings support this assumption. Leadership qualities are manifested in the following ways: a. Community Aides show considerable initiative without much direction (holding meetings, organizing, etc.). b. The nonprofessionals have a real feeling for the problems of the poor and some apparent skills in coping with them. c. There is a self-recognition on the part of many nonprofessionals that they have undergone personal growth and development since joining the program. d. Professionals and program directors interviewed confirm these points.

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* **P.26-33, "Research Proposal for a Study of the Nonprofessional in the CAP," Daniel Yankelovich, Inc.**

ASSUMPTION	EVIDENCE OF THE STUDY
3. "The nonprofessional can bridge the gap between the professional and those he serves because he: (a) speaks their language; (b) shares their plight; (c) has know-how in dealing with the problems of being poor; (d) has a similar style of life; and (e) is highly motivated to help. The professional maintains a social distance and possesses skills and points of view that create a barrier between him and those he intends to serve."*	Only partial evidence is available since the study investigated the nonprofessional and the professional and not those they serve. With this major qualification, the findings support the assumption: a. Even critical professionals and observers acknowledge that the nonprofessionals in the program are uniquely able to speak the language, know the problems and get to the poor. b. The study findings clearly show that the nonprofessionals are highly motivated. Complete confirmation is not possible without studying the recipients of the services.
4. The nonprofessional program creates a corps of people who are ideally equipped to implement the remedial and expediting elements of Community Action Programs. "Many of the disadvantaged people at whom the program is aimed need more than educational and economic opportunities. They need assistance in utilizing existing facilities, remedial help, and encouragement. The nonprofessional can fill this need."*	The one-sided evidence of the study supports the assumption: a. The major job category was defined as "recruitment and referral" (56% of all nonprofessional jobs). A majority of nonprofessionals in the program spend their time recruiting people for participation in programs and assisting them in utilizing available facilities. b. Reports of increased utilization of facilities come from the agencies which provide service reinforced by the subjective evidence of nonprofessionals themselves. c. The statements of high-level political observers in some of the major cities are also confirmatory. This is not hard evidence, but it points in the direction of confirmation.

* Ibid.

ASSUMPTION	EVIDENCE OF THE STUDY
5. The nonprofessional program offers jobs that give great human satisfactions and rewards without requiring high levels of training, intelligence or education. "There is a tendency to equate menial jobs with disadvantaged people. These menial jobs threaten the person's self-respect--all too shaky as it is. The CAP's open up jobs that involve helping others. Experience has proven that such jobs (involving human capabilities rather than formal training) have a morale building effect and offer models of aspiration for others."*	The study findings confirm this assumption; the experience of helping others has had a potent morale building effect. The work appears to have done wonders for the self-respect of many of the nonprofessionals. The human satisfaction of the work is frequently brought up in connection with low salary levels. Nonprofessionals state in a great variety of ways that job satisfaction goes a long way toward making up for low pay.
6. The program absorbs and trains people under more controlled conditions than is possible in industry. "Unsuccessful experiences of school dropouts who become, say, car washers and parking attendants in the Kinney Parking Lot System may lead to erroneous conclusions about the true capabilities of some of the people in the programs. They may be launched too quickly into a set of unfavorable competitive conditions before we have adequate understanding of how to prepare and train them for what kind of jobs. The CAP's give us a better opportunity to work the bugs out of the programs geared to accommodate gifted people who have been severely disadvantaged."*	The study findings do not confirm this assumption. Nonprofessional programs at this stage of their development lack the elements of training, supervision, routinization of job functions and training aids and manuals that are available in the better industrial programs.

* Ibid.

ASSUMPTION	EVIDENCE OF THE STUDY
7. The nonprofessional programs will bring about needed changes in existing institutions.*	Insufficient evidence.
8. The programs will provide models for identification for many young people.*	Insufficient evidence.
9. Existing needs will not be converted into effective demand for services without these programs.*	Insufficient evidence.

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* _Ibid_.

B. Obstacles

ANTICIPATED OBSTACLES	STUDY FINDINGS
1. Professional and agency people will be highly resistant to--and will vigorously fight against--accepting nonprofessionals.*	The almost 200 professionals and agency people interviewed in this study were directly engaged in CAA programs. We did not interview many professionals outside of these programs. Thus, our sample is not representative of the total professional population. The evidence of the study bears on two categories of professional/nonprofessional relationships: the relationship of the Community Aide (56%) to social workers and agency personnel, and the relationship of the School Aide (32%) to the teachers and administrators of education. With respect to the Community Aide/social worker relationship in the CAA's, as indicated earlier, findings show that friction is confined to a small minority. The majority of the social workers in these programs are committed to the nonprofessional concept and are trying to make it work; and the nonprofessionals for the most part respect the help, dedication and sincerity of the social workers with whom they are involved. With respect to the Teacher Aide program, there is less friction than might have been anticipated for one basic reason: most nonprofessionals in the school programs encompassed within this study do very little actual teaching; they do housekeeping chores such as feed the children, pass out materials, etc. These roles do not threaten the teachers; nor do the Teachers' Aides resent the limitation. Most of them (untrained Negro women) feel that they are receiving excellent training and that these jobs are far superior to such alternatives as domestic work, work as a waitress and other menial types of work.

* _Ibid_.

ANTICIPATED OBSTACLES	STUDY FINDINGS
2. The nonprofessional will have great difficulty in assuming his new role for the following reasons:*	
a. He will have difficulty in assuming authority.	Not a major problem (there has not been much authority to assume).
b. He will be reluctant to share client confidences with supervisory personnel.	Not a problem.
c. He will have a tendency to overidentify with clients.	There is an occasional problem of nonprofessionals getting too emotionally involved, but this does not appear to be a major--or frequent--obstacle.
d. He will have a tendency to overidentify with agency.	An occasional problem but not a major one.
e. He will have difficulty in overcoming remedial needs, such as elementary skills in reading, writing, etc.	A limited problem. Three quarters of the nonprofessionals report that they are high school graduates; nevertheless, supervisors report difficulty with the use of written materials. The nonprofessionals possess the elementary skills in reading and writing, but most of them are unaccustomed to using these skills on the job.
f. Great amounts of anxiety are generated by the new positions.	Anxiety is created primarily in the first weeks of work. This is when the programs tend to lose people. Apart from the early work period, the anxiety appears to be manageable.
g. There is inflexibility and rigidity in carrying out the job.	This obstacle was unanticipated but it has proven to be a major one. The most often repeated criticism by agency personnel about the nonprofessionals relates to the difficulty the nonprofessionals have in coping with the unanticipated. If they come upon a situation that deviates from what they have been told to expect, they do not know what to do. They fall back on improvisations that are inappropriate, or they simply do nothing.

* Ibid.

ANTICIPATED OBSTACLES	STUDY FINDINGS
3. The new job may be a "dead-end."*	The "dead-end" problem has two aspects: 1. A fear that the new job concepts may prove to be unreal because they are unproven and untested. The study findings indicate that for the two major job categories--Community Aide and Teacher Aide which account for the vast majority of jobs--experience to date indicates that these jobs fill real needs. Complaints center around there being "too much to do" rather than there not being enough to do. Community aide work presents innumerable challenges which the nonprofessionals are constantly trying to meet. There is universal agreement both among the nonprofessionals and those who supervise them that these jobs are very real indeed, and not dead-ends in this sense. 2. A second meaning of "dead-end" centers on the insecurity about what will happen in the future. Some thoughtful nonprofessionals and professionals are quite concerned with the possibilities that the CAP's may fold up, with the fact that there is no clear-cut link to non-CAP jobs, and with the fact that there is very little upgrading within the programs. This second meaning of dead-end is very real for some of the nonprofessionals and most of the professionals.

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* _Ibid_.

ANTICIPATED OBSTACLES	STUDY FINDINGS
4. Local administrations may oppose the programs.*	At the time the study was done, there was very little evidence of opposition by local administrations. Many cities had completely avoided the more controversial aspects of organizing the poor to make demands that might be construed as embarrassing to local administrations. In cities such as Syracuse where such efforts had been made, there has been a distinct withdrawal. In Washington there is a feeling on the part of some program administrators that success depends on the ability of the nonprofessional to participate in protests, rent strikes and other politically controversial activities. While this may or may not be true from the point of view of the recipient of service--we have no evidence on this matter--it does not appear to be necessary to motivate most the nonprofessionals engaged in the program. The study shows very little overt opposition on the part of local administrations. Rather, there is a lack of real acceptance and conviction. Local administrations tend to feel that if federal money was withdrawn they would not take up the programs on their own initiative. There has been a surprising and encouraging lack of political intervention in the programs in the sense of using available jobs for patronage and other forms of political manipulation.

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* Ibid.

There were a number of obstacles that were not anticipated but have shown themselves to be serious ones.

OBSTACLES NOT ANTICIPATED IN ADVANCE OF THE STUDY	STUDY FINDINGS
5. Failure to attract men.	A serious obstacle to the program's future.
6. Nonprofessionals are kept on in the programs irrespective of performance.	There appears to be a marked reluctance to let nonprofessionals go once they have been hired without reference to performance and also because of the lack of clear-cut standards of performance. This could become destructive to the future of the program.
7. There is a feeling of uncertainty about the future of the programs.	This is a major obstacle and will eventually undercut the enthusiasm and high morale of the nonprofessional unless it is corrected.
8. Ambiguity in the nonprofessional concept.	There has been considerable confusion with respect to conflicting purposes. Is the purpose of the program to recruit the "hard core," or to attract the best people available or to provide jobs for the unemployed? Is the purpose of the program to train and upgrade proficient nonprofessionals, or is it to spread the available money around to as many full-time and part-time jobs as possible? Is the purpose of the program to train people as neighborhood workers and general full service aides, or is it to train them as subprofessionals in relation to specific professions, such as teaching, etc.? Lack of clarity and differences in interpretation on issues such as these account for most intercity differences and generate a certain amount of mixed signals among both administrators and nonprofessionals.

Summary

Our interpretation of the study findings leads to the broad conclusion that the concept is fundamentally sound and that it promises to become a potent method for breaking the poverty cycle for those directly involved in the nonprofessional programs. It offers the participants more than just a job. Like education, it contains powerful intangible benefits.

Many of the nonprofessionals interviewed in this study have previously received other services aimed at reducing poverty. Some of them have been on welfare; others have lived in public housing projects, etc. Analysis of the interviews reveals that their response to their jobs as nonprofessionals appears to differ in fundamental ways from their response to receiving these other services. The services ameliorated some of the worst effects of poverty, but they did not mobilize the individual's own resources and capabilities for breaking out of the poverty cycle on their own initiative.

The worst part of urban poverty appears to be a by-product of the lack of money. There is an assault on the very fundamentals of human life: on the person's hope, on his self-respect, and on his feeling of being treated with justice. To be without hope and self-respect and to have one's sense of justice ravaged is the very definition of despair. For many people hired in the CAP's, the effect on them of being paid to help others like themselves is dramatic. To feel that you are able to help others to break out of a trap that you yourself have been caught in, boosts a person's self-respect and awakens new hope.

Thus, the study seems to highlight the important finding that there are two very different effects achieved by various government programs. There is a recipient-of-service effect and a self-help effect. The recipient-of-service effect ameliorates a difficult situation, while the self-help effect does this and also bolsters the person's sense of his own self-worth, thereby galvanizing his own resources.

The work of Erikson and others helps to explain why this difference is fundamental, i.e., why being a recipient of service may not be enough to restore the hope and self-respect essential to trigger a person's own motivations to help himself. The experience of programs based on the principle of helping others who are in the same plight reinforces a major hypothesis of this study: the nonprofessional program appears to be (at least potentially) a more direct and effective method for breaking the poverty cycle than most other approaches.

Despite its basic soundness, the obstacles to institutionalizing the nonprofessional program are formidable. They are, in fact, so great that unless there is widespread confidence in the soundness of the concept, it may not win the public support it requires in the next few years in order to make the changes and additions to the program needed for its ultimate success.

Section 4 - Recommendations for the Future

The question of whether to consolidate or to expand the nonprofessional program is worthy of close analysis, independent of near-term considerations. Its resolution must be related to the multiple meanings of the nonprofessional concept. As previously noted, these multiple meanings have caused some degree of confusion; the umbrella term "nonprofessional" embraces a variety of jobs.

It may be helpful to distinguish among four separate categories of nonprofessional jobs:

1. The Community Aide job in the CAA (usually described as "recruitment and referral").

2. Nonprofessional jobs other than Community Aide that do not require changes in highly institutionalized professions such as teaching and medicine (e.g., Home Aide, Cultural Aide, Employment Aide, etc.).

3. Subprofessional jobs closely related to highly institutionalized professions whether or not they are part of CAA programs (Medical Aide, Teacher Aide, Legal Aide, etc.).

4. Jobs in industry and local agencies completely divorced from CAA programs.

Category 1

Our recommendations for the first category--Community Aides--have been made in previous sections. They deal primarily with the creation of an upgraded group of nonprofessionals who can take on much of the responsibility for training and supervision.

Category 2

With respect to the second category--jobs such as Home Aides, Cultural Aides and Employment Aides,--we would like to suggest that these might be approached somewhat differently in the near future. We recognize that creating and filling such jobs is the responsibility of each city CAA. Nevertheless, the cities would be responsive to information and guidance from O.E.O. on which of these jobs hold the greatest promise, and what their content and format should be. At the present time there is a dispersion of effort due to the proliferation of jobs of this character, which cannot hope to receive the attention they deserve. This can only dilute the success of the major categories of jobs. On the other hand, some of the other jobs, such as Employment Aide and Home Aide, look very promising. We suggest that the O.E.O. pinpoint the cities where these sorts of jobs are now being developed. (See our nine individual City Reports for a full listing of job categories in each CAA.) Suppose, for example, that Los Angeles has the most advanced Cultural Aide program. This one program might be expanded and formalized into a demonstration project for Cultural Aides. At the same time, the Cultural Aide job category might be strongly discouraged in other cities until the viability of the job had been worked out in the one demonstration city. In this way, each of these new job categories would receive the attention it requires without splintering the effort on the Community Aide program: as each such demonstration program proves whether or not the job concept is a viable one, and if so, what it requires by way of training, supervision and job content, this package of information could be disseminated to other cities who could pick it up if they so desired in its more highly advanced form. We recognize that this approach has been used to some extent by O.E.O., but our findings suggest that the efforts of the cities to date have been spread among too many different types of nonprofessional jobs and that there is a need for more restriction.

Category 3

With respect to the third category--jobs which require the close cooperation of existing professions such as teachers and doctors--we understand that expansion of these programs is now being undertaken to test their practicality and to evolve their precise specifications. These jobs differ from Category 2 in that they arouse the resistance of the professionals, they demand a high degree of professional cooperation, and they may require changes in the structure of these professions as well as in the roles and activities of the nonprofessionals. They, therefore, require a very different approach to their development.

Category 4

With respect to the fourth category of jobs--using the CAA programs for nonprofessionals as a stepping stone to jobs outside in industry and local, private and government agencies--we feel that this area might deserve much higher priority from O.E.O. than it now appears to be receiving. Consequently, we will devote most of our attention to this job category.

The Stepping Stone Concept

It is unlikely that the categories of CAA jobs largely financed by governments (national and local) can absorb in the near future more than a fraction of the candidates qualified to fill them. We believe, therefore, that it would seem highly desirable to use these programs as a training ground for jobs outside of O.E.O. in industry and local agencies. Furthermore, such programs might be planned to engage industry's more active involvement--an as yet not thoroughly tapped potential for absorbing some of that part of the poverty population who are now underemployed or are working at below-the-poverty-line salaries--Negroes and poorly-educated white males. Our recommendations on this stepping stone aspect of the program are confined to industry because we know this area best, and because industry is likely to prove less resistant to--and a larger source for--jobs than local agencies.

At the present time, industry's formal requirements for education and formal accreditation are rapidly escalating out of the bounds of reality. Jobs formerly filled by high school graduates now call for a college degree or an M.B.A. The ability to work one's way up in industry without formal education--the historic path of advancement--is disappearing with astonishing rapidity. Thus, at the same time that people need better jobs, there are present and potential openings in industry for jobs that call for skills and qualifications applicants do not possess. If well-planned and executed, this O.E.O. program can help to close the gap and contribute to the slowing down of a marked and, in many respects, senseless trend. The reason the trend is senseless is that the formal educational requirements and the actual content of the education frequently bear little resemblance to the industry job that needs to be filled. A person with a college degree or an M.B.A. may be disappointed in a low-level sales or production job, while a nonprofessional potentially well-suited for such jobs cannot hope to get a crack at filling them.

We have noted that the existing programs contain very large numbers of Negroes. Since Negroes are disproportionately disadvantaged in industry, it might be productive to give special attention to the Negro nonprofessionals. There exists a large and dynamic organization called the National Association of Marketing Developers. This is an all-Negro organization of executives in marketing. It is a fairly new organization and it is as dedicated to the advancement of Negroes in industry as it is to its own narrower business interests. We suggest that this organization (as an example) be approached with a view to serving as an intermediary between the nonprofessional CAA programs and potential employers. With support from O.E.O., we believe that this organization could help to plan and execute training programs for nonprofessionals for specific marketing jobs in industry. Undoubtedly help from others will be required in approaching manufacturers in order to engage their cooperation. In our experience, present approaches to industry on such programs are not indicative of what can be done. Large corporations in particular are becoming increasingly aware of their social responsibilities. Many such companies can and are willing to do far more than they are now doing if they are approached in the right way, at the right level and with concrete practical programs.

To discuss this issue further would carry us far beyond the scope of the present study, but we would strongly urge the O.E.O. to follow up on this very promising avenue for expansion of the nonprofessional program.

A New Educational Package

Our final recommendation relates to a phase of training alluded to in the previous section--the fourth phase of training for nonprofessionals. The Newark program, in cooperation with Fairleigh Dickinson College, for all of its limitations, suggests a concept that we believe to be indispensable for the long-term success of the nonprofessional program.

At the present time, our educational institutions are not equipped in curricula, in training, and in formal requirements to meet the needs of a 30 year old Negro with a family to support who may have managed to get through high school but has few formal educational skills beyond the elementary skills of reading and writing. It is wholly unrealistic to expect such a person, however motivated he may be, to acquire even with subsidization the kind of formal education and accreditation that the schools and colleges are prepared to give and that employers demand for all but the most menial of jobs.

We believe that the nonprofessional program is the ideal place to develop a major innovation in education and accreditation for adults that can, of course, be extended far beyond the nonprofessional. Without presuming to specify such a program in concrete terms, we enumerate below some of the more obvious general requirements it should fill and some of the ways in which it should differ from the existing educational structure:

1. A special curriculum should be worked out for each job category, such as health aide, legal aide, home aide, community aide, salesman, engineering aide, production aide, etc.

2. The curriculum's specifications should be developed in close collaboration with potential employers, be they physicians, beer companies, or local agencies.

3. The curriculum materials should be developed and pretested with existing nonprofessionals.

4. The programs should be administered by existing educational institutions so that accreditation can be given and the "holy water" of formal education sprinkled on, but the educational institutions must organize specially trained staffs and programs to carry out such training.

5. Formal credit should be given for specific life experience tasks. For example, to Community Aides for proven skills in interviewing, organizing activities, running meetings, use of the training manual, etc.

6. Maximum use should be made of new educational technology now in the developmental stages. It is likely that teaching machines and computer based devices will prove to be far more flexible and far more capable of being geared to individual requirements of nonprofessionals than existing methods. In fact, the greatest potential for these devices may not be the formal school systems but the individual training of adults with widely varying capacities.

7. The timetable of instruction should be accommodated to the realities of the nonprofessional's life. Wholly new formats for part-time study have to be evolved and tested.

8. Since it is unlikely that greatly increased salaries will be available for untrained personnel in or outside of the CAA's, the educational opportunity should be used as a reward and as part of the upgrading procedure (anyone entering such an educational program should regard himself and be regarded by his peers as having received a significant promotion).

9. It is possible that the large private foundations would be interested in such a program because of its broad social ramifications.

We suggested in a previous section that the nonprofessional program and education appear to tap into different human motives than do services such as welfare, housing and medical aid. They appear to mobilize the individual's own initiatives and resources and consequently, to offer the promise of breaking the poverty cycle rather than merely mitigating its worst consequences. Combining these two elements into a single program may produce a synergistic effect and may prove to be a potent and major social innovation.

PART II

RESEARCH REPORT

Summary of Data Presented in Nine Individual City Reports

Research Sample

A total of 522 interviews were carried out in nine cities with Poverty Program executives, government and other informed observers, professional and nonprofessional participants in the programs. In addition, interviews were conducted with some categories of respondents in the test city of Newark, New Jersey. The tabulations of data do not include Newark since different interviewing instruments were used there. However references are made to programs in Newark whenever relevant.

The following table shows the type and number of respondents by city.

Research Samples

	Number of Interviews									
	Total	New Haven	Syracuse	Washington	Atlanta	Detroit	Chicago	St. Louis	Pittsburgh	Los Angeles
	No.	No.	No.	No.	No.	No.	No.	No.	No.	No.
Total Interviews	522	36	27	50	28	77	104	54	58	88
Type of Respondent										
Informed observers and poverty program executives	39	3	6	5	6	4	4	3	2	6
Program administrators	69	10	2	13	3	14	11	4	4	8
Professional workers	90	6	6	11	7	12	17	9	10	12
Nonprofessional workers	324	17	13	21	12	47	72	38	42	62

Size of Programs

We estimate there are approximately 4,870 nonprofessional workers employed in community action programs included in this study of nine cities.

The following table (titled "Size of Programs") summarizes the data presented in the nine individual city reports on the numbers and status of the nonprofessionals. Detailed explanations of these figures for each city are found in the individual city reports submitted in April-August, 1966.

In the table, "Estimated total nonprofessionals employed" refers to the nonprofessionals employed (both full and part time) by all programs (except those designed to be temporary e.g., summer recreation, Medicare alert) administered or coordinated by the CAA in each of the nine cities included in the study. "Number of nonprofessionals for whom data were available for analysis" refers to the nonprofessionals about whom additional data were available (e.g., number promoted, number fired/resigned and characteristics of the nonprofessionals).

As shown in this table, about 76 per cent of the nonprofessionals are employed full time, while the remaining 24 per cent are part-time workers (based on eight cities; statistics from Washington on number of full-time nonprofessionals were not available). The proportion of part-time nonprofessional workers is particularly high in St. Louis where 48 per cent are employed part time (as opposed to 24% for the average), and in Detroit, where 40 per cent work part time.

In St. Louis, it is the stated policy of HDC officials to utilize part-time nonprofessionals. This policy is said to achieve two basic purposes:

1. To extend the number of workers available for the program; and
2. To involve a larger portion of the community in its programs by hiring more residents for a shorter work week.

By far the largest number of part-time nonprofessionals included in our statistical study of Detroit (86%) are employed in the four Community Action Centers in that city. Thus it would appear that Detroit, as well as St. Louis, seeks to extend its neighborhood aides and involve a greater portion of the community in its programs, through the use of part-time nonprofessionals.

Size of Programs

	Total	New Haven	Detroit	Pittsburgh	Syracuse	Washington	Atlanta	Chicago	Los Angeles	St. Louis
	No.	No.	No.	No.	No.	No.	No.	No.	No.	No.
Estimated total nonprofessionals employed	4870	250	1150	415	95	300	290	935	965	470
Number of nonprofessionals for whom data were available for analysis as shown below	3167	205	773	166	66	152	290	636	413	466
Full time*	1918(76%)	189	462	108	66	147	290	**	413	243
Part time*	613(24%)	16	311	58	-	5	-	**	-	223
Promoted*	304(11%)	23	73	**	**	9	**	94	88	17
Originally hired*	3117	207	817	207	77	552***	**	779	530	500
Fired/resigned*	392(13%)	2	44	41	11	205***	**	143	117	34

* Total and percentages given reflect only those cities for which this information was available.

** Not available.

*** Includes clericals; see Washington report; not included in total for fired/resigned category.

Statistics compiled from May to July, 1966.

Characteristics of the Nonprofessionals Including Characteristics of the Nonprofessional Sample

The table below summarizes the characteristics of the 3,167 nonprofessionals analyzed in the nine individual cities, and compares this data with the characteristics of the nonprofessionals included in the random sample used for this study. The table shows the following facts with respect to the characteristics of the nonprofessionals:

Sex

About 71 per cent of the nonprofessionals are women. The attraction of male nonprofessionals has been a problem for virtually all of the cities. Washington (59% male) and New Haven (44% male) have achieved the greatest success in solving this problem. On the other hand, Atlanta (7% male), St. Louis (16% male) and Syracuse (17% male) have the lowest proportion of male nonprofessionals.

The causes for the apparent ability or inability of these five cities to attract male nonprofessionals are reported to be as follows:

Washington (59% male)

Allowing for the fact that the Model School program (employs mostly women as teacher aides) is not included in our statistics, it is still evident that Washington has been more successful in attracting male nonprofessionals than most of the cities studied.

The Neighborhood Center and Crime and Delinquency programs in Washington have used recruiting approaches which are unusual and it is these atypical recruiting approaches which appear to have succeeded in providing large numbers of men. Specifically, they have had program workers go out on the streets, into the bars, and even to prisons to stimulate applications.

New Haven (44% male)

As in the case of Washington, "word of mouth" has not played as important a role in recruitment of nonprofessionals as in most other cities. Rather, in New Haven, a majority of the nonprofessionals were recruited through deliberate and detailed identification of prospects who were then invited to join the program. This more selective approach has, among other results, produced more men than have the less selective approaches used by other cities.

Atlanta (7% male)

Industrial jobs for men are plentiful and pay well. This is said to be the basic reason why so few male applicants have been found.

St. Louis (16% male)

One hundred ninety-one of the 466 nonprofessionals in St. Louis are employed in Head-Start, and 98 per cent of these are women. When this group is omitted, we find that St. Louis is actually an average city in terms of attracting male nonprofessionals, about 26 per cent (versus the average of 24%).

Syracuse (17% male)

It is said that the salary level for CFO jobs is so low ($3,600 to $4,800), that men would rather remain on welfare than accept these jobs. However, it should be noted that (as in the case of St. Louis), when the education programs are not included, Syracuse employs an average percentage of male nonprofessionals in its Field Operations program (24%).

Age

One of the important questions raised with respect to the nonprofessionals is the extent to which the program is able to provide jobs for the very old and the very young, those age groups least able to obtain employment in the open market.

This study indicates that about 32 per cent of the nonprofessionals are under 30 years of age, while about 12 per cent are 50 years of age or older.

The proportion of younger and older nonprofessionals for most of the individual cities is similar to that for all nine cities as a whole. However, there are two cities which appear to be different. These are Washington and Pittsburgh. In both of these cities, the percentage of nonprofessionals under 30 is higher and the percentage of nonprofessionals 50 or older is smaller as follows:

	Under 30 Years	50 Years and Older
	%	%
Washington	46	7
Pittsburgh	51	4

There may be a correlation between the degree of open recruitment, and the number of nonprofessionals under 30 attracted to the programs. As previously indicated, some Washington programs have actively sought nonprofessionals on the streets, rather than relying on "word of mouth." Similarly, while not to the same extent as Washington, some Pittsburgh programs have engaged in more intensive open recruitment.

At the same time, it would appear that recruitment efforts of this type which bring in larger numbers of young nonprofessionals, attract fewer older (50+) nonprofessional applicants.

Education

A meaningful measure of the educational level of the nonprofessionals is graduation from high school. Those who are not high school graduates have a more difficult time finding employment in the open market.

About 1 out of 4 of the nonprofessionals have not graduated from high school. And only 1 out of 10 has not had some high school training. As the table indicates, the proportion of nonhigh school graduates does not vary significantly from city to city.

Characteristics of the Nonprofessionals

	Total		New Haven		Detroit		Pittsburgh		Syracuse		Washington		Atlanta		Chicago		Los Angeles		St. Louis	
	Uni-verse	Sample	Uni-verse	Sample	Uni-verse	Sample	Uni-verse	Sample	Uni-verse	Sample	Uni-verse	Sample	Uni-verse	Sample	Uni-verse	Sample	Uni-verse	Sample	Uni-verse	Sample
(Number in Group)	(3167)	(324)	(205)	(17)	(773)	(47)	(166)	(42)	(66)	(13)	(152)	(21)	(290)	(12)	(636)	(72)	(413)	(62)	(466)	(38)
	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%
Total	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100
Sex																				
Male	28	24	44	65	35	24	34	10	17	7	59	33	7	8	19	22	37	34	16	16
Female	71	76	56	35	65	76	66	90	83	93	41	67	93	92	81	78	54	66	84	84
Not available	1	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	9	-	-	-
Age																				
Under 30 years	30	31	22	41	35	55	51	24	-	13	46	22	25	25	24	39	29	11	30	36
30 - 39 years	31	28	21	29	31	12	33	36	-	53	30	55	37	33	39	24	24	27	33	24
40 - 49 years	21	22	10	12	22	19	12	21	-	27	17	11	22	25	22	19	23	36	26	16
50 years and over	12	18	6	12	12	9	4	9	-	7	7	6	16	17	14	18	15	26	11	24
Not available	6	1	41	6	-	5	-	-	100	-	-	6	-	-	1	-	9	-	-	-
Race																				
White	13	20	41	29	13	14	5	7	29	13	5	11	17	25	-	24	28	23	9	34
Negro	54	79	56	71	86	86	18	93	71	87	95	89	83	75	-	76	58	77	50	66
Other	1	1	2	-	1	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	2	-	-	-
Not available	32	-	1	-	-	-	77	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	100	-	12	-	41	-
Marital Status																				
Married	46	52	44	71	52	29	32	57	-	60	-	50	50	33	41	60	40	47	73	61
Single/divorced/separated/widowed	43	44	14	23	48	45	68	43	-	40	-	50	50	67	58	40	49	53	27	39
Not available	11	4	42	6	-	26	-	-	100	-	100	-	-	-	1	-	11	-	-	-
Salary Range																				
Below $3,000	12	16	6	6	-	17	53	26	24	7	-	6	-	75	-	1	-	-	58	50
$3,000 - 3,999	8	18	19	-	-	5	42	57	53	7	10	17	-	25	-	13	-	18	18	8
$4,000 - 4,999	39	39	28	23	-	7	5	10	23	46	67	50	-	-	88	65	100	79	19	3
$5,000 and above	7	16	46	65	-	5	-	5	-	33	23	11	-	-	12	18	-	3	5	34
Not available	34	11	1	6	100	66	-	2	-	7	-	16	100	-	-	3	-	-	-	5
Family Income																				
Below $3,000	1	6	-	6	-	14	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	25	-	1	-	-	4	18
$3,000 - 3,999	1	9	-	-	-	12	12	19	-	7	-	6	-	17	-	6	-	7	5	11
$4,000 - 4,999	8	24	-	12	-	19	26	17	-	7	-	22	-	25	-	19	-	48	44	21
$5,000 and above	1	51	-	65	-	45	9	43	-	60	-	39	-	33	-	70	-	42	6	45
Not available	89	10	100	17	100	10	53	21	100	26	100	33	100	-	100	4	100	3	41	5
Education																				
Not elementary school graduate	1	4	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	7	-	5	1	17	2	-	2	2	4	16
Elementary school graduate	9	1	10	6	21	-	7	-	-	-	5	6	4	-	5	-	3	2	5	3
Some high school	15	24	-	12	-	45	16	10	-	20	20	9	30	33	25	21	17	19	18	29
High school graduate	49	31	46	47	74	24	68	67	-	20	39	17	42	25	33	25	37	24	49	26
Some college	16	33	-	29	1	26	8	21	-	46	28	22	22	25	30	46	25	44	17	18
College graduate	4	6	2	-	4	5	1	2	-	7	8	11	1	-	5	8	4	6	7	8
Not available	6	1	42	6	-	-	-	-	100	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	12	3	-	-

Number of Persons Supported by Nonprofessionals

Table I below shows the number of persons for whom the nonprofessional workers interviewed for this study contribute financial support. Seventy-five per cent contribute toward the support of at least one other person. Almost two thirds (63%) contribute to the support of at least two other persons. We estimate that the average nonprofessional contributes to the support of 2.5 persons other than himself.

Table I

Number of Persons Supported by Nonprofessionals
as Reported by Nonprofessional Respondents

	Total
(Number in Group)	(302)
	%
Total Number Supported	100
Just themselves	25
1 other	12
2 others	19
3 others	13
4 others	11
5 others	9
Themselves plus 6 or more	11

Indigenousness to the Neighborhood

Thirty per cent of the nonprofessionals walk to their jobs. Seventy per cent ride to work by car or bus. As shown in Table II below, almost three quarters (72%) of the nonprofessionals live within fifteen minutes of their jobs. More than one fifth (23%) are within five minutes of work. Of those who walk to work, 90 per cent are within fifteen minutes and 44 per cent have a five minute walk or less. Only 6 per cent of the nonprofessionals must travel more than a half hour to get to work.

Taking into consideration travel problems in urban areas, it would appear from this data, that most nonprofessionals are indigenous to the neighborhoods in which they are employed.

Table II

Nonprofessionals' Length of Time Traveling to Work

	Total	Walk to Work	Ride to Work (Car or Bus)
(Number in Group)	(311)	(94)	(217)
	%	%	%
Total Time	100	100	100
5 minutes or less	23	44	13
6 to 15 minutes	49	46	50
16 to 30 minutes	22	10	27
31 minutes to 1 hour	6	-	9
More than 1 hour	-	-	1

Background of the Nonprofessionals

Employment Status of the Nonprofessionals at the Time of Application for Work in Community Action Programs

It is clear from Table III below, that a significant number of nonprofessionals employed in Community Action Programs have been drawn from the principal target population of the programs, i.e., those unemployed and desirous of working. Almost half (47%) of the nonprofessional respondents in this study were unemployed and actively seeking jobs at the time of their employment in Community Action Programs. Another 15 per cent were seeking a job change when the O.E.O. opportunity was presented. Many of these may be presumed to have been underemployed. That is, their past training and experience have equipped them to hold higher paying or more responsible jobs.

Thirty-eight per cent were not looking for a job prior to learning of the opportunity in the Poverty Program. This group of nonprofessionals, not looking for a job prior to employment in O.E.O. projects, consists of 23 per cent who were employed at that time and 15 per cent who were not. The latter group is largely housewives and students.

The percentage of nonprofessionals falling into the key group--those who were unemployed and actively seeking employment--is particularly high--76 per cent--in Detroit. This may be at least partially accounted for by the fact that Detroit respondents tend to be younger than in other cities (55% are under 30 years of age as opposed to 31% for the study as a whole).

Table III

Employment Status of Nonprofessionals Prior to Employment in Community Action Programs

	Total Nine Cities	Detroit	Remaining Eight Cities
(Number in Group)	(310)	(42)	(268)
	%	%	%
Total Responding	100	100	100
Status of Nonprofessionals			
Employed; not actively seeking job change	23	7	25
Employed; seeking a job change	15	5	17
Unemployed; actively seeking a job	47	76	43
Unemployed; not seeking a job	15	12	15

There is no consistent pattern to the length of time of prior unemployment. Fifty-six per cent of the previously unemployed nonprofessionals report being out of work for less than one year (40% for less than six months). The significant number not working for more than one year (44%) is believed to reflect the large number of women involved in these programs. Eighty-eight per cent of the nonprofessionals who were unemployed for more than one year are women. Many of these women do not work on a regular basis, but rather seek work when personal conditions warrant.

Table IV below shows the type of position being sought by the 62 per cent of the total nonprofessional group studied who were actively looking for jobs at the time of their employment in Community Action Programs. This group includes respondents who were seeking new jobs although employed at the time, as well as those who were unemployed.

It is apparent that a large number of these people were just looking for any type of work they could get. Twenty-nine per cent state that they had nothing specific in mind. Another 12 per cent were looking for work which would prove interesting or in which they could feel more useful.

Very few (only 2%) of these respondents state that they were looking for unskilled jobs (e.g., domestic, custodian, laborer, etc.). About one fifth (22%) claim to have been seeking work of the type generally found in Community Action Programs. This includes working with youth, working for city departments (recreation, welfare, etc.). The respondents replying in this manner often tend to be vague in their answers, and there is doubt that some of them would have been looking for this type of job before the Poverty Program came into existence and defined these opportunities. However, it would appear that they were attracted toward this type of work in a general way.

The 19 per cent who were seeking clerical positions indicates the expressed desire of many of the women involved to get office jobs, as opposed to positions as domestics, waitresses, etc.

Table IV

Type of Position Sought by Nonprofessionals Looking for Jobs at Time of Employment in Community Action Programs

	Total
(Number in Group)	(134)
	%
Total Responding	100
Nothing specific/anything	㉙
Something interesting/useful	⑫
Specific improvement(s) over previous job, e.g., better hours, closer to home, etc.	6
Position of type found in Community Action Programs	㉒
Clerical	⑲
Skilled/professional/semiprofessional	8
Unskilled	2
Other	2

The salary levels being sought by the unemployed group vary considerably. Twenty-six per cent suggest "any salary" would have been acceptable. Another 11 per cent state they "just wanted enough to support their families." Most of those (33) who reply specifically on this subject suggest monthly salaries. The salaries they stipulated are as follows:

Salary Per Month	Respondents Stipulating This Amount No.
Total Replying	33
$100 - 199.99	1*
$200 - 299.99	10
$300 - 399.99	13
$400 or more	9

* Part time.

Most of the nonprofessionals hired by Community Action Programs who were working at the time of their employment, held jobs in the skilled, professional or semiprofessional categories. This includes such areas as sales, service (beauticians, professional cooks, etc.) managers or owners of small businesses, craftsmen (carpenters, electricians, etc.). Forty-three per cent of these respondents report holding positions of this nature.

The large number employed in this type of position, plus the 19 per cent who were already working in such areas as recreation, education or social work, is believed to reflect the desire of certain Community Action Programs to recruit as nonprofessionals, persons very likely to be able to handle the work, either because of past related experience, or because of their positions of leadership in and knowledge of, the community.

Table V

Type of Position Held by Nonprofessionals Holding Jobs at Time of Employment in Community Action Programs

	Total
(Number in Group)	(111)
	%
Total Responding	100
Position related to type of work found in Community Action Programs	19
Clerical	14
Skilled/professional/semiprofessional	㊸
Unskilled	18
Other	6

One quarter of these respondents had held their previous job for less than one year. However, 30 per cent had held their last job for five years or more.

Prior Experience in Related Areas

In spite of the fact that a large proportion of the employed group had work or other experience related to CAA work, the remaining two thirds of the nonprofessional respondents in this study (64%) have no prior experience in the specific work they are doing for Community Action Programs. By far the largest portion of those who have had related experience (41% of the experienced one third) have gained this experience through work for volunteer or charitable organizations. Twenty per cent previously worked in nonprofessional capacities in public schools or other educational facilities. The remainder were scattered among other poverty projects (e.g., Head-Start), religious organizations, recreation facilities (camps, playgounds), etc.

In terms of the actual work done in these jobs, only 11 per cent report the work as clerical, secretarial, etc. The remainder describe their work as experience meaningful for their O.E.O. activities. Some of the more frequently mentioned types of work include: supervising children, assisting teachers and social service work for private and municipal organizations.

Hiring the Nonprofessional Worker

Recruitment of Nonprofessionals for CAP's

Chart I, below, shows the principal methods of recruiting nonprofessionals used in nine cities. While most of the cities have utilized a variety of recruitment procedures, this chart indicates the procedures most heavily relied upon by the CAP's in each city.

"Word of mouth" has been the most common method of recruiting nonprofessionals. Only in New Haven is "word of mouth" not said to be a primary means of generating applicants for nonprofessional jobs.

The other most common recruitment procedures have the functioning nonprofessionals generate interest in jobs within the target community, and relying on advice and recommendations of community leaders, particularly clergymen and educators.

Washington, and to a lesser extent, Pittsburgh have made relatively extensive use of open recruitment methods. That is they have sought applicants in the "streets" or held community meetings for this purpose.

Emphasis in New Haven, on the other hand, has probably gone further than any other city in attracting persons already known to be leaders in the community ("pinpointing recruitment").

CHART I

SUMMARY OF RECRUITMENT PRACTICES WITH RESPECT TO NONPROFESSIONALS IN COMMUNITY ACTION PROGRAMS IN NINE CITIES

CITY	RECRUITMENT PRACTICES
New Haven	Seek out community leaders; recommendations from clergymen, educators, political leaders, etc.
Atlanta	"Word of mouth" Interest generated by work of nonprofessionals.
Detroit	For City of Detroit Programs "Word of mouth" Interest generated by work of nonprofessionals Newspaper publicity For School and Archdiocesan Programs Direct recruitment of residents who have demonstrated interest and activity in the past.
Syracuse	Holdovers from previous program "Word of mouth" Interest generated by work of nonprofessionals
Pittsburgh	A mixture of recruitment procedures depending on program. "Word of mouth" Direct recruitment of residents who are believed to possess needed qualifications Meetings to inform residents about programs Recruitment by professionals from welfare rolls
Los Angeles	Personal acquaintance by supervisory or other program employees "Word of mouth"
Washington	Active recruiting for many programs designed to reach as large a portion of the target area population as possible. After programs established, "word of mouth"
Chicago	"Word of mouth" Interest generated by work of nonprofessionals
St. Louis	"Word of mouth" Recommendations by community leaders

Selection of Nonprofessionals for CAP's

Chart II, below, summarizes the principal methods of selecting nonprofessionals used in nine cities, as well as some of the selection criteria and the degree to which specific selection criteria are utilized in choosing nonprofessionals.

While selection methods have varied widely from city to city, from program to program within cities, and in some cities from day to day or individual to individual within programs, it is clear that the directors of individual programs (including individual neighborhood centers) typically play the key role in choosing nonprofessionals for employment in their programs. This is true to some degree in every city, even when the official selection procedure does not appear to assign this function to the program or center directors. For example, in Detroit where Civil Service is used for selecting TAP nonprofessionals, the center directors are found to be instrumental in selecting residents who apply through the Civil Service. Likewise, in St. Louis, where a competitive training program is used for final selection of some aides, the center directors (or neighborhood developers) choose those who may enter the training program. In other cities (e.g., Atlanta and Los Angeles), final selection of nonprofessional aides is clearly the responsibility of the center directors.

There are few specific criteria used in choosing nonprofessionals for these programs. Only in Atlanta and in some programs in Pittsburgh, Detroit and Chicago do we find definite criteria (education, age, income) and procedures to employ them which only rarely deviate from one nonprofessional to another.

The most common traits sought on an informal basis in these nine cities are target area identification; and some previous evidence of interest in neighborhood affairs or knowledge of the community.

CHART II

SUMMARY OF SELECTION PRACTICES WITH RESPECT TO NONPROFESSIONALS IN COMMUNITY ACTION PROGRAMS IN NINE CITIES

CITY	SELECTION PRACTICES
New Haven	Screening at both headquarters and community level. Selection Criteria: Active in neighborhood organizations; indigenous to neighborhood and knows the neighborhood.
Atlanta	Very specific selection procedures and criteria. Screening by central headquarters; final selection by neighborhood center directors. Specific selection criteria relating to age, education, income, etc.
Detroit	For City of Detroit Programs: Civil Service (no written tests); selection for Civil Service testing by neighborhood center directors. For School and Archdiocesan Programs: Selection at local level by school principal or sister. Selection Criteria: Some experience (except for lowest level of nonprofessional) high school graduation for some positions; male applicants get preference; some community experience.
Syracuse	No formal selection procedures or criteria. For Field Operations: Final decision by Director of Field Operations, but relies very heavily on opinions of local centers. For Education: Final decision by Director of Special Projects, of Syracuse Public Schools
Pittsburgh	Selection procedures and criteria variable from program to program as follows: For Board of Education: Selection by personnel department of Board; no specific criteria. For Catholic School Board: Selection at individual school; must have two applicants for every job; seek area residents with experience for position. For Board of Assistance: Selection through Pennsylvania State Employment Service with final decision by Board of Assistance; must be on welfare plus other specific selection criteria. For Health Department: Final selection by Health Department with recommendations from neighborhood Citizens Committee; very specific selection criteria relating to education and experience.
Los Angeles	Selection procedures and criteria differ from neighborhood to neighborhood, but: final choice is made by neighborhood center directors; prior experience or demonstration of leadership is the most important criterion for selection.
Washington	Selection procedures and criteria vary widely from program to program, but there are no formal selection procedures or criteria. Selection methods are basically in the hands of the program directors or neighborhood center directors.
Chicago	Urban Progress Centers: Formal selection procedures including use of an outside consultant for psychological testing. Two year residence in present address only standard qualification used. UPC Directors make final selection decisions. Streets Program: No formal selection procedures or criteria.
St. Louis	Use of competitive training program for many nonprofessionals. In some cases choosing natural community leaders. Final decision by Neighborhood Developer. No specific criteria for selection (or entrance in training program) other than residence in target area.

Analysis by Program Administrators of Recruitment and Selection of Nonprofessionals for CAP's

An overwhelming majority of administrators of individual programs (for the most part professionals directing the activities of neighborhood centers employing neighborhood workers) believe the recruitment and selection activities involved in their programs have proven successful. They state that there has been a more than ample supply of recruits, and that the performance of those selected proves to them that selection procedures are working well.

These comments are typical of the majority viewpoint on recruitment and selection:

> "Our selection procedures are successful because they have given us a kind of 'cadre' work unit out of which have come some professionals, many nonprofessional trainees, and an overall group of which this Program is really proud."
>
> Detroit Administrator

> "We believe our selection procedures have proven successful because of the satisfaction with the work of the nonprofessionals by the CAP office, our office, and the applicants themselves."
>
> Pittsburgh Administrator

> "Our recruitment and selection procedures have provided the kinds of people we needed to operate this unit. We have a well-knit community-oriented work force that has produced measured results. The satisfactory operation of this Center proves it."
>
> Chicago Administrator

A small number of administrators do not believe recruitment and selection are being handled in a satisfactory manner, or cite specific problems in connection with this aspect of the nonprofessional program. The following comments are representative of the more negative attitudes:

> "There are a lot of community people who could be holding more important positions."
>
> Detroit Administrator

> "I have been disappointed in the numbers and characteristics of male candidates. I feel the appeal to male candidates has been insufficient. Those that have real promise find it easier to find work, and therefore do not seek this type of employment."
>
> Washington Administrator

> "Some parts of the community have complained that not enough of their applicants have been considered."
>
> Atlanta Administrator

Other problems in recruitment and selection mentioned include:

...Too many applicants; shortage of jobs.

...Getting bilingual applicants (Detroit and Washington).

...Getting Caucasians (Atlanta).

...Dealing with applications from persons ineligible to work in the program, e.g., income too high (Washington).

...Personality problems of applicants otherwise suited to do the job.

...Resentment of those rejected for positions with programs.

Nonprofessionals' Perception of Why They Accepted a Job With a Community Action Program

As shown in Table VI, below, when asked specifically why they took the job with a Community Action Program, 42 per cent of the nonprofessional respondents reply that they had a desire to help the community, or some specific portion of the community, e.g., its young people. Another 11 per cent report they believed the job would prove rewarding to them in the sense that it would be enjoyable, interesting, satisfying, etc.

Almost one third (31%) state flatly that they were unemployed or underemployed and that this was a job to be had, or a better job. Another 20 per cent were thinking in terms of future opportunities or advancement. They had the feeling that a job of this type would open new vistas to them, rather than holding them in "dead-end" positions where the chances for advancement were limited.

Following are some of the comments of nonprofessionals on why they accepted their jobs:

> "It was the kind of work I wanted and could benefit from. It could lead to a better job."
>
> St. Louis Aide

> "I was completely sold on its good purposes and accomplishments and glad to be part of it. I took the job because I wanted to do something for somebody."
>
> Los Angeles Aide

> "It's something I've always wanted to do...and have done but never been paid for before. I felt it was an opportunity, and I was thrilled."
>
> Chicago Community Representative

> "I thought it might lead to a better job after three years. If the program ended after three years, I would at least have more knowledge of what's going on. I don't just live in my little world any more. And besides, I needed a job."
>
> Washington Neighborhood Worker

Table VI

Nonprofessionals' Reported Reasons for Accepting Job With a Community Action Program

	Total
(Number in Group)	(251)
	%
Total Responding	100*
Desire to help the community	㊷
Unemployed/underemployed	㉛
Improvement over previous job (hours, working conditions, etc.)	10
Provided better prospects for the future	⑳
Believed job would be enjoyable/satisfying/interesting	11
Interested in a specific function, e.g., working with children, home economics, etc.	8
Similar to past experience	4
Took job as a temporary situation	3
Uncertain	12

* Percentages add to more than 100% due to multiple response.

Nonprofessionals' Perception of the Job at the Time of Employment

...How the Job Was Described to Them

Discussions with the nonprofessionals reveal that for the most part, the descriptions of their jobs at the time of their employment interviews were not extensive. Almost 9 per cent report that the job they would be doing was not discussed at all. Only 6 per cent remember this discussion as outlining the specific day-to-day work they would do. For most of the nonprofessionals, the job was described in very simple terms, e.g., assisting the teacher in every way, or calling on neighbors to help them with problems.

It should be noted that perhaps a more complete job description was not really possible or necessary because:

...The positions were so new that the interviewers were really not sure of the day-to-day problems which would have to be met or how the nonprofessional would fit in. For many, the idea was still experimental.

...Most of the nonprofessionals took the jobs because of a desire to help, or need of a job or better job. Therefore, they were less interested in a detailed explanation of what they would be doing.

Following are some of the comments of nonprofessionals on what they were told about their prospective jobs:

> "I was told this was a program to change the system which made poverty possible. It was to help the poor to help themselves. We would be the people out in the community making the contacts to tell people the Center was here and what services were available."
>
> Washington Neighborhood Worker

> "It was very vague. I don't believe anyone really knew what a Community Representative would be, except that we would work in the community."
>
> Chicago Community Representative

> "I was told I'd be working to improve the neighborhood and getting more people interested to work with the program."
>
> St. Louis Aide

> "The purpose of the program was to prepare children for entry into the primary school grades. I was to help the teacher in any way I could."
>
> Pittsburgh Teacher Aide

> "That I may specifically have to baby-sit, market, run errands for elderly people, administer medicine, etc."
>
> Detroit Community Aide

> "My work would be similar to some of the volunteer work I'd already done. To make people aware of the program and what was available to them."
>
> Los Angeles Aide

Discussion of Future Opportunities for Nonprofessionals at Time of Employment

About half (52%) of the nonprofessional respondents report that there was some discussion of their futures when they joined the program. The other half (48%) do not recall any discussion of the future at that time. There is a slightly lower incidence (44%) of discussion of future opportunities among nonprofessionals involved in education (primarily teacher aides) than among these working out of neighborhood centers, e.g., neighborhood workers, community representatives, etc. This is believed to reflect the preponderance of women in the education area, as well as the recognized professional qualifications needed to advance in this field.

While the number of nonprofessionals involved in the areas of employment, health and consumer education is much less than the neighborhood worker or teacher aide groups, it is of interest that a much higher percentage of these workers report discussion of future opportunities at the time of employment. Sixty-five per cent of this group state that their futures were discussed at that time. There appear to be two major reasons for this contrast. In the case of neighborhood workers, the failure to spell out future career opportunities is said to be caused by the relative newness and lack of clear delineation of the profession. In the case of teacher's aides, the obstacles to advancement are legal requirements and the frequently strong resistance of teachers to nonprofessional "intrusions."

While the subjects discussed in terms of the future were widely diversified, it is clear that many CAP interviewers warned the nonprofessionals not to build their hopes too high in considering their futures on the jobs with Community Action Programs. Many were told the future was uncertain because the success or future funding of the programs is not yet clear. There was also some comment on the early nonprofessional workers being "in on the ground floor," or that the future of the nonprofessional depended on how hard he worked and the ability he would show. There was reportedly little discussion of actual upgrading possibilities within the programs themselves.

Following are some examples of the discussions pertaining to their futures, as recalled by the nonprofessionals:

> "We were told we could go as high in the program as we wanted to go...there was always room for promotion in the program, and eventually out of the program into the mainstream of private industry."
>
> Chicago Community Representative

> "None that I know of. I was too happy to worry about it. I've got a job to do now while the program is in effect."
>
> Pittsburgh Health Aide

> "He didn't say too much...in fact we didn't talk about it at all except to say he thought I'd fit into this type of work."
>
> Los Angeles Aide

> "They told me to complete college so I could grow with the program."
>
> Atlanta Peer Group Counselor

Effect of Employment in Community Action Programs on Career Plans of Persons New in the Labor Market

In the course of this study, discussions were held with 69 non-professional workers who are under 25 years of age and relatively new in the labor market. Forty of these young people state that their jobs with O.E.O. sponsored projects now fit in with their career plans. Fifteen report their present work does not fit in with their career plans, while 14 are uncertain.

Table VII below shows the original career plans of these young people. More than one quarter (26%) of them report that they did not know what they wanted to do, and basically, had no career plans, at the time the opportunity for their O.E.O. jobs came up. While the intended careers which are mentioned vary, they are all for jobs above the unskilled level. Thus, similar to the nonprofessional group as a whole, the young nonprofessional appears to come from a group which did think in terms of an improved position in life through education and a career, even before the O.E.O. job opportunity appeared. For this reason, most of these respondents do not report changes in their career objectives due to O.E.O. employment. They were evidently already interested in further education and/or higher level careers. Work in Community Action Programs apparently gave them an opportunity, but in most cases, was not the spur to more ambitious career plans.

Following are some of the comments of these young people on their career plans, and the effect working in Community Action Programs has had on these plans:

> "I didn't have any plans, just hopes I guess. Now I'd like to go into teaching or nursing, but this is still just hope for me. Money is the problem."
>
> Pittsburgh Teacher Aide

> "I worked in a machine shop after high school. I didn't like it, but had no plans really. Now, I'd like to work in the Police Department working with kids."
>
> Chicago Detached Worker

"I wanted to go to medical school, and I still hope to do so some day."

Los Angeles Aide

"This is the kind of work I've always wanted to do. I want to go back to school again and go to college."

St. Louis Neighborhood Worker

"I was interested in an accounting career before coming here. Now I'd like to study social work or psychology."

New Haven Vocational Counselor

Table VII

Career Plans of Young Nonprofessionals Prior to Joining Programs

	Total
(Number in Group)	(69)
	%
Total Responding	100
More education	14
Professional/semiprofessional (other than teaching)	16
Teaching	17
Social service	13
Skilled/semiskilled	12
Other	2
No career plans	㉖

Community Residents Turned Down for Employment With Community Action Programs

Seventy-two of the nonprofessional respondents report having friends who applied for jobs with Community Action Programs, but were turned down. The respondents' explanations of why their neighbors did not get jobs center upon three major factors:

...All positions were filled (this includes in some cases the feeling that more workers were needed, but that funds were not available).

...The applicants were not at the poverty level.

...The applicants did not reside in the target area.

Other reasons given by a few nonprofessionals for their friends' failure to obtain jobs include lack of sufficient education, and lack of experience or the knowledge necessary to do a specific job.

Forty-five of these nonprofessionals report discussing the situation with these friends who did not get jobs. Twenty of them believe their friends feel the decision not to hire them was not a fair one. Sixteen believe their friends feel the decision was fair, and nine are not sure.

Employment of Nonprofessionals in Community Action Programs

Training

1. Training Methods for Nonprofessionals

As shown in Chart III below, 6 of the 9 cities included in this study have used formal classroom training for a significant portion of their nonprofessional employees. In addition, such a program is in the process of development in Detroit.

Atlanta appears to offer the most complete training to its aides. Atlanta's training course consists of four weeks of classroom training and four weeks of formal on-the-job training.

At the other end of the scale are Los Angeles and Syracuse. While some nonprofessionals have been trained at NAPP headquarters in Los Angeles, most nonprofessionals receive all their training on the job. There are said to be no formal training procedures in Syracuse.

In several of the cities, there are unique aspects to the training programs, which may be summarized as follows:

St. Louis - A competitive training program for some aides (part-time workers) in which the training program becomes a means of final selection.

Chicago - In the early stages of development of the community representative program, training was contracted to an outside consultant, Howard Associates. This firm still does psychological testing for selection of nonprofessionals.

Detroit - In the new training program which is being developed for TAP, nonprofessionals will be trained to act as instructors for other nonprofessionals.

CHART III

SUMMARY OF TRAINING METHODS FOR NONPROFESSIONALS IN COMMUNITY ACTION PROGRAMS IN NINE CITIES

CITY	TRAINING METHODS
New Haven	Formal classroom approach for all new nonprofessionals (two weeks); bi-weekly sessions for employees working prior to training program.
Atlanta	Formal classroom approach (four week course). Four weeks of formal on-the-job training. One third of nonprofessionals have not had classroom training due to lack of funds.
Detroit	Informal on-the-job training (with the exception of one small program). Formal in-service training program presently being developed.
Syracuse	No formal training procedures.
Pittsburgh	For School Programs (public and diocesan): No formal training procedures; on-the-job training by immediate supervisors only. For Board of Assistance and Health Department: Formal classroom approach plus on-the-job training.
Los Angeles	Variable, e.g., formal classroom training for some nonprofessionals at central headquarters. Most nonprofessionals trained on the job.
Washington	Formal approach to training including classroom sessions for most programs. Manpower program has relied on on-the-job training by professional supervisors only.
Chicago	Extent of training dependent on program and nature of job. Three basic variables: For Community Representatives: Formal classroom training plus on-the-job training. For Program Representatives: On-the-job training only. For Nonprofessionals in Streets Program: Handled on an individual basis depending on the needs of the nonprofessional involved.
St. Louis	Formal classroom training for many aides. Training utilized as competition for selection.

2. Evaluation by Program Administrators

Forty-four of the 52 program administrators (directors of neighborhood centers and other specific programs) addressing themselves to the question of whether or not the training of nonprofessionals has been successful, believe that over all it has. It is the opinion of most of these administrators that the effectiveness of the nonprofessionals in their jobs is the proper measurement for the quality of the training. Additional evidence of successful training is said to be the fact that aides have been developed quickly and that they have been able to help themselves and their neighbors.

However, when the administrators turn their attention to problems of career development for nonprofessionals, more intensive help to poverty populations, etc., there is considerable concern about the adequacy of the present programs. Problem areas mentioned include:

...Some nonprofessionals are unable to respond to the type of training they receive.

...There are many personality problems which interfere with the training.

...Sufficient resources are not available to provide all needed training.

...There is sometimes a lack of coordination between agencies so that the trainee does not understand his role in the city as a whole.

Following are some comments of administrators on the training of nonprofessionals:

> "The fact that we can function at all is indicative of the success of our training methods."
>
> Detroit Administrator

> "In some cases the material has to be repeated. It is presented too fast, and is too complicated. Some nonprofessionals can't take notes, they don't know how."
>
> Washington Administrator

> "We just don't have the staff to offer real training. Therefore, on the whole, the training has been poor. There's not enough of it, and what there is is of poor quality. These jobs require training outside, as well as inside the agency."
>
> Syracuse Administrator

> "There is no provision for formal continuing training for the nonprofessional. Without this, the nonprofessional outlook for future advancement is poor. He is 'hung up' with academic requirements which are too difficult to meet because he lacks money and time for after-school work."
>
> Pittsburgh Administrator

> "We have taken raw material and made good nonprofessionals out of them."
>
> Atlanta Administrator

> "Training here combines classroom work with actual field assignments. One of the most difficult aspects of training nonprofessionals is the gearing of material to their capability and understanding. We are continually evaluating and changing course content in terms of word presentation and visual aids although the specific objectives of the training remain the same."
>
> St. Louis Administrator

3. Evaluation by Nonprofessionals

Eighty-five per cent of the nonprofessional respondents in this study report having received some training for their current jobs. Seventy per cent of these state that at least a portion of this training involved some formal classroom instruction or other training away from the day-to-day job functions.

Most of those who have received training (82%) express satisfaction with the training for their jobs. This satisfaction is most often expressed in terms of the worthwhile content of the training material, and the fact that the nonprofessionals have more self-confidence and feel better able to handle their jobs as a result of the training program. Furthermore, they believe the quality of the training has been proven by their success in their jobs. There is also some praise for the quality as well as the positive attitudes of the instructors.

The few negative attitudes toward training received center around a desire for more specifics. In other words, some nonprofessionals do not believe the training prepared them for the day-to-day problems they would meet on the job.

Following are some comments by nonprofessionals on the training they have received:

> "I learned much I didn't know, and have no real problems because of a lack of instruction."
>
> St. Louis Aide

"I had an instructor who was very informative. The teachers were chosen by Howard Associates and were well-qualified to teach. The training was useful. I still call these instructors when I have a problem."

Chicago Community Representative

"On-the-job training has helped me a lot personally...better than just going to a classroom."

Los Angeles Aide

"They weren't teaching me anything I didn't know, I feel I'm a born leader in human relations."

Los Angeles Aide

"That on-the-job training is just observation, not training."

Detroit Teacher Aide

"The training was good because my instructor was thorough and concerned to help me, but didn't stifle me with rules."

Washington Manpower Aide

"It's not practical. You have to develop your own techniques. They really didn't have to help me much. I know this neighborhood."

Washington Neighborhood Worker

"If I hadn't had class training I wouldn't have known what to do when I started in the field. Instructions were detailed, and in a way I could understand."

Atlanta Neighborhood Worker

Role of the Nonprofessional

1. Work Areas Filled by Nonprofessionals

Chart IV below, summarizes the types of roles assigned to nonprofessionals in CAP's in nine cities. The work areas which are listed, e.g., home economics, employment, etc., refer not only to specific job categories, but also to functions within job categories. For example, if home economics is listed as a work area under a city, this indicates one of two things:

a. That there is a specific home economics/consumer education program which utilizes nonprofessionals, as in the case of Unified Social Services (USS) in New Haven; or

b. That this area is an important aspect of the work of some of the nonprofessionals, e.g., neighborhood workers in Atlanta, although there may not be a specific program dealing only with this area.

When a work area is not listed under role for a specific city, this does not mean that this type of work is never touched upon by any nonprofessionals in that city. The list of roles for nonprofessionals for each city should be qualified by two factors:

a. The roles included for each city are the principal work areas covered by nonprofessionals in that city. For example, any neighborhood worker may deal with some employment problems in the course of his work, but if this is not an important part of his day-to-day job function, it is not included.

b. The roles discussed pertain only to programs included in this study in each city, by prior agreement with O.E.O. Thus, the work performed by nonprofessionals in the Head-Start program are not included in these lists.

The principal roles (or work areas) in which nonprofessionals function (as presented in Chart IV) may be outlined as follows:

Recruitment and Referral - We have used this term to describe the most typical function of neighborhood aides. That is to help families within the target areas to make use of available services including CAP's, and to refer them to and expedite their dealings with the proper agency for handling their problems. This function exists in every city studied to some degree. It appears to be basic to the setting up, and continuance of, CAP's.

Community Organization - The nonprofessional's function as a community organizer is closely related to the recruitment and referral area. Many neighborhood workers are assigned tasks which result in the organization of target area residents around specific problems (e.g., housing) or in geographic groupings (e.g., block clubs). However, in Syracuse, Washington and St. Louis, community organization is a primary task for neighborhood aides. In Washington and St. Louis, the success of the nonprofessional in organizing groups is used as a means of evaluation of the nonprofessional; while in Syracuse, emphasis on community organization by nonprofessionals has led to conflict both within CFO, and with outside agencies.

Teacher Aides - Despite exclusion of the Head-Start program from this study, teacher aide remains a principal job category for nonprofessionals.

School-Community Relations - Is closely related to the teacher aide concept, but carries the nonprofessional's work outside of the classroom. In this case, the nonprofessional may act as a bridge between the school and community, explaining school policy to parents; or bringing community problems to the attention of the school. He may also handle specific problems, e.g., attendance, tardiness, behavior, etc. The school-community relations work area is found in five cities.

Home Economics - Refers to aid given to target area families in the area of home and family care. This may take the form of dealing with individual families in problems of budgeting, shopping, cleanliness, etc.; or it may be classes in sewing, proper use of credit, etc. Six cities include such functions as a principal role for some nonprofessionals.

Employment - Refers to job counseling and interviewing, as well as surveying the community to stimulate job openings for target area residents. New Haven, Washington and Atlanta have specific Manpower programs for which nonprofessionals fulfill these functions.

Health Aides - Are found in Detroit, Pittsburgh and Los Angeles. In Pittsburgh, these aides are employed by the county health department where they do survey work and inform residents of available health facilities. These functions are also handled by nonprofessionals in Detroit. However, in Detroit

> there are also some positions which involve more technical work, e.g., laboratory assistant. In Los Angeles, the health aides' duties are primarily clerical in nature. However, some aides serve as interpreters in Spanish speaking areas.

It should be noted that the types of jobs handled by nonprofessionals are particularly varied in Los Angeles because of the system utilized there of placing most of the nonprofessionals with existing social welfare and government agencies, as well as other O.E.O. programs. This is also true to a lesser extent in Chicago, where the use of Program Stations operated in conjunction with existing institutions (e.g., housing projects, schools, etc.) tends to widen the possible nonprofessional roles.

CHART IV

SUMMARY OF PRINCIPAL ROLES PLAYED BY NONPROFESSIONALS IN COMMUNITY ACTION PROGRAMS IN NINE CITIES

CITY	ROLE OF THE NONPROFESSIONAL
New Haven	Recruitment and Referral School-Community Relations Home Economics Employment
Atlanta	Recruitment and Referral Assistance to Specific Professionals Recreation Teacher Aides Home Economics School-Community Relations Employment
Detroit	Recruitment and Referral Home Economics Health Aides Training Aides Teacher Aides School-Community Relations
Syracuse	Community Organization Recruitment Teacher Aides
Pittsburgh	Teacher Aides Recreation School-Community Relations Home Economics Health Aides Neighborhood Workers
Los Angeles	Multiplicity of roles with wide spectrum of social welfare agencies, government agencies, educational institutions, etc.
Washington	Recruitment and Referral Community Organization Home Economics Credit Unions Crime and Delinquency Employment Teacher Aides
Chicago	Recruitment and Referral Multiplicity of roles with wide spectrum of types of programs, e.g., libraries, education, recreation, etc. (Program Representatives) Youth Work
St. Louis	Community Organization Recruitment and Referral

2. Principal Nonprofessional Jobs

Chart IV summarized the types of role assigned to nonprofessionals in the nine cities included in this study. Table VIII below, shows the jobs actually filled by the nonprofessionals. For example, a neighborhood worker employed in a neighborhood center would be included under "neighborhood worker" in Table VIII. If the role of most of the neighborhood workers in a city included "recruitment and referral," "employment" and "community organization," these work areas were listed for that city in Chart IV.

By far the largest number of nonprofessionals (55%) are employed as neighborhood workers. The principal function of the neighborhood worker in most cities is recruitment and referral, as described on Page 144.

Thirty-two per cent are involved in education, most of these in the classroom as teacher aides. It should be noted that a significant number of these teacher aides are working in the classrooms at kindergarten level and above. This is particularly true in

Pittsburgh and Washington. Nonprofessionals also work above the preschool level in Chicago, Detroit and Syracuse.

Only 5 per cent of the nonprofessionals are involved in the area of employment. The remaining 8 per cent are scattered among health aides, home aides, recreation aides, cultural aides, etc.

Table VIII

Principal Nonprofessional Jobs[1/]

	Total
(Number in Group)	(318)
	%
Total Responding	100
Neighborhood worker	55
Education	32
Employment	5
Other	8

[1/] This sample.

Supervising and Evaluating Nonprofessionals

1. Summary of Procedures in Nine Cities

Chart V summarizes supervision and evaluation procedures utilized for nonprofessional personnel in nine cities. As the data in this chart shows, techniques for supervision and evaluation present the greatest variation from city to city and from program to program of any of the categories for which we have made city-by-city comparisons.

This variation apparently results from the fact that supervision procedures have been left largely in the hands of the program directors, or even the supervisors themselves.

We find supervision ranging from a very close, one-to-one basis, to almost no supervision unless problems come up. In the same way evaluation ranges from written forms completed at regular intervals, to no formal evaluation at all.

It should be noted that some nonprofessional job categories cause less of a supervisory problem because of the nature of the work involved, and the relationship of the nonprofessional and the supervisor. This is particularly true for teacher aides who generally work directly with a professional teacher.

Over all, it may be said that despite a lack of consistency or central direction to supervisory procedures within many CAP's, supervision of many nonprofessionals tends to be relatively close, in the judgment of most program administrators and professionals.

St. Louis is unique in the supervisory area, in utilizing Vista volunteers to handle day-to-day supervision of nonprofessionals.

CHART V

SUMMARY OF SUPERVISION AND EVALUATION PROCEDURES WITH RESPECT TO NONPROFESSIONALS IN COMMUNITY ACTION PROGRAMS IN NINE CITIES

CITY	SUPERVISION/EVALUATION PROCEDURES
New Haven	Close supervision by immediate supervisor; written reports by nonprofessionals on activity; evaluation oral in meetings of headquarters and supervisory personnel.
Atlanta	Supervision by professional with whom nonprofessional works; informal basis. No formal evaluation procedures.
Detroit	For City of Detroit and School Programs: Very informal supervision and evaluation procedures. For Archdiocesan Programs: Weekly progress reports and formal review of work of nonprofessionals.
Syracuse	Informal supervision procedures (in largest program, Education, nonprofessionals do work directly with a professional). Formal periodic evaluation policy not carried out in many cases.
Pittsburgh	For School Programs (public and diocesan): Supervision by professional working with nonprofessional; periodic evaluative reports. For Board of Assistance and Health Department: Close day-to-day supervision and evaluation by professionals
Los Angeles	Variable from neighborhood to neighborhood: from regular meetings and formal written evaluation on periodic basis to little supervision and no formal evaluation procedures.
Washington	No official UPO policy with respect to supervision and evaluation, but supervision in most programs tends to be close by administrative personnel and/or professional workers. Evaluation for most programs is formalized to some degree including written reports. Suburban centers and manpower program appear to have the least structured supervisory and evaluation procedures.
Chicago	No formal supervision or evaluation procedures. Each UPC director develops supervisory techniques to meet needs of his area. Supervision tends to be close by professionals and experienced nonprofessionals. Evaluation in UPO's ranges from merely watching for poor performance to written evaluation on a formal basis. In Streets Program, supervision and evaluation are completely unstructured, and changeable depending on individual needs.
St. Louis	Specific neighborhood center executive (the Neighborhood Developer) in charge of supervision of nonprofessionals. Some districts use Vista volunteers for day-to-day supervision. Little formal evaluative procedures.

2. Appraisal of Administrators and Professional Workers

The major problem in this area as viewed by these professionals (supervisors and workers) is clearly the lack of sufficient staff to give all the leadership which is needed, and closely related to this, a lack of time to devote to supervisory and evaluative functions. Because of this need for additional supervisory manpower and time, supervision and evaluation lacks the formality that some administrators believe is necessary.

The following comments illustrate the discussions of administrators and other professionals on supervising and evaluating nonprofessionals:

> "I doubt that it could have been much better in this early period. We have had so much to do just getting the organization together, training them in the most basic of elements. This is not to mention a variety of special assignments like Medicare Alert which takes time away from the day-to-day activity. One thing about these subprofessionals which should be recognized...they aren't really flexible, and anything unusual is likely to throw them off stride. We find supervision to be very time consuming. Also communications...reporting by the written word is very difficult for them. We have to interpret every question that we ask, and ask

them to repeat so you are all sure they understand what you mean. It all takes great patience on the part of the supervisor, but they try so hard that the reward for your patience is great."

St. Louis Administrator

"For a program of this size we are trying to get at least two full-time professionals who would have overall responsibility for supervision of the nonprofessionals. Supervision is conducted in many cases by the professional with whom the nonprofessional is working, but we need someone to take them "through the door" in many areas that the professional now working with them simply does not have time to do. One of our real problems is how do we act as a crutch without creating cripples."

Detroit Administrator

"We cannot report a single case of supervisory breakdown. There have been no reassignments or dismissals for insubordination."

Chicago Administrator

"Sometimes the nonprofessionals feel they live in the neighborhood and know more than the supervisor. There are some clashes of personality...some instances of preaching or taking advantage of their position on the part of the supervisors."

New Haven Administrator

"There are inadequacies on the part of the supervisors. It is not easy to find professionals and semiprofessionals who can work with nonprofessionals. We don't know what good supervision is. We don't know how to teach and train. The nonprofessionals were critical of some supervisors. They expected and wanted more skills in their supervisors. They also wanted nonthreatening supervisors...warm and accepting. While they wanted to become supervisors themselves, they expected their own supervisors to be better qualified...it is difficult to evaluate someone when there is no clear job description. We had no trained supervisors who had experience with nonprofessionals and with the kinds of roles which we were evolving for them."

Syracuse Administrator

"The nonprofessional workers have been doubled without any increase in the supervisory staff."

Washington Administrator

"Supervisors need training in supervising so they learn when to step in and when not to. Some develop their judgment with experience, but training would help sharpen their alertness to problem areas faster. Although many supervisors have been active leaders in the community, responsibilities in supervising paid employees is an entirely new situation." (Referring to nonprofessional or semiprofessional supervisors.)

Pittsburgh Administrator

"It all depends on how you approach a person. I find it easy to offer constructive criticism and do not feel any resentments from those I supervise."

Chicago Community Representative Supervisor

> "They need constant reassurance that they are doing a good job. Because they consider themselves as people on the bottom of the heap, they need to be lifted up. The problems are not insurmountable."
>
> Atlanta Social Service Supervisor

> "One case worker was getting out of hand... trying to do too much. He got upset over the problems of the job. I tried to teach him to pace himself, not to try to do more than was possible."
>
> Washington Social Worker

Salary of Nonprofessional Respondents

1. Salary Level and Family Income

As shown in Table IX below, most of the nonprofessionals interviewed for this study are earning more than $4,000 in annual salary, and have family incomes of $5,000 or more. Very few (only about 15%) have family incomes of less than $4,000.

Table IX

Salary Level and Annual Family Income of Nonprofessional Respondents

	Salary Level	Family Income Level
(Number in Group)	(324)	(324)
	%	%
Total Responding	100	100
Below $3,000	16	6
$3,000 - 3,999	18	9
$4,000 - 4,999	39	24
$5,000 and above	16	51
Not available	11	10

2. Attitudes of Nonprofessionals Toward Salary Level

More than half (55%) of the nonprofessionals express definite satisfaction with their salaries. While some are not sure what they should be earning because this type of job is a new experience, only one fifth (21%) are unhappy with respect to the salaries they receive. The relationship between satisfaction with salary from city to city, and the family income ranges most prevalent in each city, is not consistent. In other words one might expect that the higher the income the greater the satisfaction, but this is not so. This is believed to reflect the influence of local conditions, standard of living, etc., on the attitudes of the nonprofessionals.

As shown in Table X below, there are clear differences in level of satisfaction with salary according to job category and sex. There is almost no definite dissatisfaction with salary in the education field (primarily teacher aides). Only 6 per cent of these aides are dissatisfied. Only one third of the male respondents express satisfaction. These statistics are related, in that more women than men are involved in the education area. However, as we have seen, there is also less interest in career and moving ahead among nonprofessionals employed in teaching. They are more involved in the idea of helping the children. It should also be noted that teachers' salaries are a known quantity, and are recognized to be low. Therefore teacher aides are less likely to feel there is a wide difference between their compensation and that of the professionals.

For those who express satisfaction, the primary reasons given are:

...The job they are doing really doesn't warrant a higher salary.

...They earn more money at this job than they could command outside the program.

The major reasons for dissatisfaction are:

...The long hours and large quantities of work done are worthy of higher salaries.

...The nonprofessional equates his work with that of the professional whom he knows earns more.

...The salary is substandard.

...As ability increases with experience, salary should rise accordingly.

Following are some comments which illustrate the attitudes of the nonprofessionals toward salary:

> "I think I'm underpaid. However, the 'real' wage is part of the overall enjoyment I get working in this program. Some others who do what I do are paid more. Must be their experience was better than mine. Work conditions are good here."
>
> Chicago Community Representative

> "Realistically, I think my salary is pretty good. I don't think a woman could make this salary anywhere else without skills like typing. It's a lot less than a social worker because they are professionals."
>
> Washington Neighborhood Worker

> "I can't complain. When one has no experience it's up to the person to try to upgrade himself."
>
> Pittsburgh Health Aide

"It should be more because of the work that is required of you. Even after we leave here we have to attend meetings. We're fighting poverty...$4,000 a year is still poverty to me. We want to move people out of poverty."

Los Angeles Aide

"It's not enough. I have experience now. I should get an increase."

Atlanta Aide

"Any teacher aide who is working with children deserves higher pay. Preschool teacher aides should be paid more. They take over the complete classroom and do the job of the teacher."

Syracuse Teacher Aide

"What bugs me is the fact that headquarters is building up a bigger staff with people who aren't poor and who don't know anything about the problems of the poor...and these people are getting $10,000 or more. They rarely get out in the field to find out what's going on. It's money wasted. We're working all hours of the night, Saturday and Sunday, and there's no overtime. Considering what we do as compared to those in the administration, we should get more."

St. Louis Neighborhood Worker

Table X

Satisfaction of Nonprofessionals With Salary Level

	Total Responding		Level of Satisfaction			
			Satisfied	Dissatisfied	Uncertain	Don't Care About Salary
	No.	%	%	%	%	%
Total	307	100	55	21	23	1
By Job Category						
Education (teacher aides)	94	100	76	6	16	2
Neighborhood Centers (neighborhood workers)	173	100	46	26	27	1
All others	40	100	45	33	22	-
By Sex						
Male	72	100	33	36	28	3
Female	235	100	62	16	21	1

Opportunities for Advancement

1. Summary of Upgrading Practices With Respect to Nonprofessionals in Nine Cities

There is very little evidence of upgrading of nonprofessionals into supervisory positions with CAP's. As shown in Chart VI below, only in New Haven do we find a significant degree of upgrading nonprofessionals into this type of job. By supervisory positions, we refer to such jobs as Director of the Skill Center, or assistant director of a neighborhood center.

Three cities (St. Louis, Detroit and Atlanta) do emphasize the opportunities for nonprofessionals through expansion of duties and salary increases within the nonprofessional category.

Los Angeles provides a unique case in this respect. The purpose of the NAPP program in Los Angeles is to place nonprofessionals permanently on the staffs of other agencies after a trial period during which they are paid by O.E.O. funds. Nonprofessionals who have been hired by the agencies with whom they work are considered to have been "upgraded," in the sense that they have advanced from the trial stage to permanent subprofessional status. On this basis, Los Angeles (as well as New Haven) may lay claim to having created meaningful advancement opportunities for nonprofessionals.

CHART VI

SUMMARY OF UPGRADING PRACTICES WITH RESPECT TO NONPROFESSIONALS IN COMMUNITY ACTION PROGRAMS IN NINE CITIES

CITY	UPGRADING PRACTICES
New Haven	Significant degree of upgrading into supervisory positions.
Atlanta	No promotions of nonprofessionals to supervisory positions; some upgrading of duties and salary.
Detroit	Very little upgrading into supervisory positions; some opportunity for upgrading of titles, salary and expansion of duties.
Syracuse	No promotions of nonprofessionals to supervisory positions.
Pittsburgh	No evidence of upgrading.
Los Angeles	Significant degree of upgrading in terms of placement with outside agencies and services.
Washington	Relatively little upgrading although provision for promotions has been provided in most cases. No provision for upgrading in Manpower program. Model School provides upgrading through use of government grading system (GS2 - GS4).
Chicago	Relatively little upgrading in UPC programs although provision for promotions has been provided.
St. Louis	Some opportunity, as well as evidence of upgrading of nonprofessionals through grade levels based on extent of responsibility and experience on the job.

2. Attitudes Toward Future Opportunities for Nonprofessionals on the Part of Nonprofessionals and Professionals

Seventy-nine per cent of the nonprofessionals are optimistic about their future work opportunities. Almost half of these base their optimism on the quality of the work they believe they have performed, and on their confidence in their own abilities.

As one Atlanta aide puts it,

> "I am interested in my area and the poor and am working hard. My future should be good."

Other nonprofessionals point out that their success is linked to the success of the programs which they believe are needed and will expand; and, that the experience they are gaining makes them better rounded individuals who will be able to do better financially, inside or out of the programs.

The 22 per cent who feel their futures may be bleak base this feeling on their belief that:

...The program may end at any time.

...There have been few promotions thus far.

...They will always need further education to really get ahead and to get it is very difficult.

About 86 per cent of the professional workers consider the future of the nonprofessionals to be bright. This optimistic outlook on the part of the professionals is based upon considerations which may be summarized as follows:

...The nonprofessionals are filling a real need in the community. The professionals need the help they are getting from the nonprofessionals.

...The quality of the work of the nonprofessionals has been high. They are making an important contribution to the success of the Poverty Program.

...Therefore, since the need is there, and the nonprofessionals are filling it with success, it may be presumed that opportunities for nonprofessionals will grow. This is qualified by some professionals who point out that federal programs must continue as the stimulus in this area.

There are a few professionals who believe the future outlook for nonprofessionals will have been permanently improved even if the Poverty Program is curtailed. This feeling is based on two factors:

a. The nonprofessional has been exposed to the realities of employment and so is better able to improve his position in the job market because of added knowledge and experience; and

b. The nonprofessional has increased self-confidence because of the status and feeling of importance nonprofessional employment has given him.

While only 10 of 70 professionals consider the future outlook for the nonprofessionals as dim, several of their comments are insightful, and of interest.

> "I think the role of the nonprofessional is being squelched. The salary they receive and the budget allocation for them is low. The central office professionals have been expanded."
>
> St. Louis Neighborhood Developer

> "The future of the nonprofessionals is very unclear and muddled because it hasn't been worked out. Theoretically they should move up, but I question whether they can do the job. If I left, a new social worker would be brought in, and the case worker (nonprofessional) would be resentful."
>
> Washington Social Worker

> "I think this experience is necessary for them. It gives them experience on how to make connections to see how far they can go. But, I'd say within the program the future is dim. It has been implied they'd be considered for upgrading in the program, but I don't know of many upgraded yet."
>
> Chicago Supervisor

Dealing With Unsatisfactory Performance of Nonprofessionals

As shown in Chart VII below, policy and practices with respect to dealing with unsatisfactory performance of nonprofessionals do not vary significantly from city to city. CAP's are very lenient in dealing with problem workers, and there are very few dismissals.

Very close supervision of the problem worker and/or reassignment are the most typical reactions within CAP's in these nine cities. In New Haven, some unsatisfactory nonprofessionals are put on probation, while in Atlanta, a "leave of absence" is used as a last resort.

Only in Washington, is there evidence that nonprofessionals who do not do a proper job have been dismissed.

CHART VII

SUMMARY OF POLICIES FOR DEALING WITH UNSATISFACTORY PERFORMANCE OF NONPROFESSIONALS EMPLOYED IN COMMUNITY ACTION PROGRAMS IN NINE CITIES

CITY	POLICY FOR DEALING WITH UNSATISFACTORY PERFORMANCE
New Haven	Lenient; very close supervision of problem worker; one or two month probation period; CPI headquarters may become involved; very few dismissals.
Atlanta	Very few dismissals Reassignment Leave of absence
Detroit	Lenient Very close supervision of problem worker Reassignment
Syracuse	Reassignment; very few dismissals
Pittsburgh	Very few dismissals For school programs (public and diocesan); closer supervision followed by reassignment Board of Assistance: Director has full discretion Health Department: Civil Service procedures
Los Angeles	Policy to avoid dismissals Reassignment
Washington	Very close supervision of problem worker Some reassignment Nonprofessionals not performing tasks properly, and not showing improvement after help or reassignment, dismissed.
Chicago	Lenient; closer supervision of problem workers Very few dismissals
St. Louis	No evidence of dismissals of nonprofessional personnel other than clericals. Formal procedure set up to handle dismissal when necessary, with right of appeal to HDC Board of Directors.

Professional Evaluation of Use of Nonprofessionals in Community Action Programs

Almost all (90%), of the professional respondents in this study, state that they are personally satisfied with the nonprofessional aspects of the Poverty Program, and believe this idea should be continued. As shown in Table XI below, when asked to rate the idea of using paid nonprofessionals, 96 per cent rate the idea as excellent. None of the professionals think the idea is "no good at all."

It should be noted that many of these professionals (most of them outside of the teaching profession) are working in Community Action Programs of their own choice. Therefore, they have a basic empathy toward the aims of the programs, one of which is to help the poor to help themselves.

Most of these professionals believe the nonprofessionals have done good work, and complement their own professional skills. There is a definite feeling among the professionals that the programs could not operate without the nonprofessionals. Also cited is the natural rapport the nonprofessional has with his own community. One Chicago professional sums up this positive attitude:

> "The individual differences of people involved in any large-scale program such as this lead to some inevitable problems...those of qualities of performance, those of personality, etc. But any objective analysis of this operation would weigh heavily in favor of overall excellence of the performance of the nonprofessonals concerned."

While almost all of the comments of professionals were basically positive ones, there are some problem areas cited, such as:

...The nonprofessional tends not to see the whole picture, and therefore to be too eager to help in every case.

...The nonprofessional may have problems in adjusting to his new life.

...Some nonprofessionals need too much supervision because of their lack of training and experience.

These comments by professionals mention some problem areas:

> "They can get much closer to the people and have fewer problems doing it than we do, but they need more supervision than they are getting."
>
> St. Louis Supervisor

> "The problems relate to the way our neighbors are. If they were able to function professionally, they wouldn't be here. It's hard for them to be dependable. They haven't learned this."
>
> Los Angeles Supervisor

> "The aides have to do such a variety of work and they are not properly experienced or trained. We must supervise them constantly. Specifically, we have to work hard with them to develop acceptable speech, but not so they will lose touch with the ones they call on."
>
> Atlanta Aide Supervisor

Table XI

Professional Evaluation of Use of Paid Nonprofessionals in Community Action Programs

	Total
(Number in Group)	(76)
	%
Total Responding	100
Excellent, with no problems	21
Excellent, with some problems	75
Good idea, but too many problems	4
Not a good idea at all	-